



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Shevardnadze on Withdrawal From Pact Countries

LD0511095888 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has said in an interview that the Soviet Union could begin withdrawing its conventional forces from Warsaw Pact countries, including Hungary, as early as next year. In an interview for the Hungarian weekly *MAGYARORSZAG* the Soviet foreign minister said the presence of the Soviet troops in certain Warsaw Pact countries is related only to guaranteeing security, there was no other reason.

He also said effective agreement had been reached at the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe about future talks on cuts in European armed forces and conventional weapons, and these talks could begin this year. If all sides show goodwill, he said, the first stage of the reductions could be carried out 1 or 2 years from now.

Shevardnadze said the reduction would extend to the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The number of foreign troops stationed in the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries will also be mutually reduced, and these measures, he added, naturally cover the Soviet Union's stationed in Hungary.

U.S. Looking 'To Abandon' ABM Treaty

LD0511184088 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT
5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

A campaign unprecedented for its cynicism has been launched in the USA regarding the Soviet radar in Krasnoyarsk. The U.S. leaders who started five years ago intensive work for the implementation of their "Star Wars" program, which is an absolutely unambiguous violation of the basic provisions of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, now try to present themselves as zealous champions of the observance of that agreement.

The American "Star Wars" program and the Soviet-American ABM Treaty are absolutely incompatible and cannot go together. Even Pentagon experts who presented last May a report on the implementation of the "Star Wars" program admit that most measures under the so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative" will be in violation of the 1972 treaty. The authors of the report, specifically, note that the creation of additional bases and deployment of interceptor-missiles above the limit set by the treaty, the deployment of anti-missiles in space and, in the long run, the creation of space and ground based directed energy weapons will require new negotiations or withdrawal from the ABM Treaty.

It should be added to the conclusions of the Pentagon experts that SDI envisages the violation of the basic provision of the treaty which prohibits the creation of large-scale defense for the entire country.

The attempts of the U.S. adversaries of the 1972 treaty to justify their actions of "violations" of the agreement by the Soviet Union do not hold water. American legislators Thomas Downey, Bob Carr and Jim Moudy who had visited the site of the construction of the Krasnoyarsk station for monitoring satellites in space declared that the possibility of its being used as a radar for anti-missile defense is extremely low and that at present the Soviet side is within the treaty.

As is known, striving to remove the concerns of the U.S. side, the Soviet Union suspended the work for the construction of the Krasnoyarsk station. Moreover, the USSR proposed that the station be adapted into an international centre of space exploration. The Soviet side is prepared to discuss with the United States and other countries concerned specific measures for the transformation of the Krasnoyarsk radar into such a centre, also by dismantling separate systems and structures and by supplying it with necessary equipment.

But these proposals do not suit Washington, however, it is apparently now interested most of all in advancing invented pretext for the USA to abandon the ABM Treaty and getting a free hand to launch the arms race in space.

UK Lead in Nuclear Modernization Pondered

PM0411235788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Lyutyy "Viewpoint": "NATO's Zigzags"]

[Text] Recently the British *NEW STATESMAN* magazine published an article by two arms experts—Paul Rogers and Dan Plesch [Paul Rogers is a defense analyst at Bradford University, Dan Plesch is director of the British-American Security Information Council]. The authors write that in accordance with plans currently being elaborated by NATO, the number of U.S. nuclear warheads sited in Britain could increase from the present 775 to 1,193 by 1995. According to Rogers and Plesch, the Pentagon and other NATO country defense departments are trying hard to find ways of "filling in the gaps" in the bloc's nuclear arsenals which are appearing as a result of implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. And Britain has been assigned a key role in this.

Could this be? Television pictures of the destruction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear missile launch installations have become almost commonplace. Europe is gradually ridding itself of part of its lethal burden. And suddenly... hundreds of new nuclear warheads.

Can we believe this? The report in the NEW STATESMAN is by no means the only alarm signal. A few months ago the well-informed research organization British-American Security Information Council published a report in London entitled "NATO's New Nuclear Weapons." It transpires from the report that the bloc's member countries intend to deploy in West Europe at least twice as many nuclear warheads by the middle of the next decade as the number to be eliminated under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The report also indicated that Great Britain had been assigned a special role in implementing this program.

The question arises: Does London intend to contribute to further progress along the path toward a nuclear-free Europe, or at least refrain from hampering this progress? Or will it, together with certain NATO allies, not shrink from jeopardizing the positive capital that has been accumulated in the sphere of nuclear arms reduction?

It is no accident that this question is being addressed to London. The British press has reported more than once that Whitehall would not be loath to take on the political leadership within NATO while one administration in Washington lives out its final months and as a new administration is bound to need some time to find its bearings and get moving. So far, judging by developments, London is clearly in the lead as regards calls for a substantial buildup of the bloc's nuclear arsenals in the coming years in parameters not covered by the Soviet-American treaty.

Does the British Cabinet have a mandate from its electorate to implement such a program? Hardly.

According to a recent opinion poll, 71 percent of Britons are opposed to the modernization of NATO's nuclear arms. At an intergovernmental level not everything is sunshine and smiles, either. Although the participants in the NATO Nuclear Planning Group session which ended a few days ago in the Netherlands supported the overall modernization concept in the final communique, Belgium, for instance, took a particular stance on the question of short-range nuclear means. Its defense minister declared that until "a full-scale democratic debate" on the problem of improving this category of weapons has been held in his country, it would be "premature" to accept any sort of commitment. The FRG is in no great hurry either to adopt a firm decision on short-range nuclear means because these means are sited mainly on its territory.

The advocates of modernization frequently claim that a decision on modernization was adopted back in October 1983 at Montebello (Canada) and that this decision must be implemented. However, has nothing happened in the world since 1983? Has the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has qualitatively changed the situation in Europe, not become a reality? The new situation demands, at the very least, a new look at the prevailing situation.

This is absolutely essential now. NATO should, at long last, state clearly in which direction it intends to go. Toward lower nuclear and conventional weapons levels, toward greater security and stability, toward common sense. Or zigzagging back through all manner of compensations and modernizations to nuclear war brinkmanship and the revival of the climate of confrontation.

'Roundtable' on Revolution, Arms Issues, Election
LD0611221088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1230 GMT 6 Nov 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Nikolay Agayants with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, collegium member of the Foreign Ministry and MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN editor in chief, and Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, first deputy director general of TASS]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed comrades! First of all, let me introduce the participants in our meeting today. They are well-known Soviet publicists, the authors of a number of books—popular not just within our country but also abroad—Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, collegium member of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the editor in chief of the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, and Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, first deputy director general of TASS.

This week has been rich in events important and significant to varying degrees in the international arena. But one can say, without exaggeration, that these events on the eve of the 71st anniversary of Great October all reflect in one way or another those heroic days, long past, which have been colored by the red cloth of our revolution. Our revolution laid the beginning of a new epoch in the history of humanity; for in it are rooted the restructuring processes that are under way in our country.

Several months after the victory of Great October in Russia, Lenin gave a perspicacious assessment of its influence on the fates of the working people of the world, having noted, I quote, that in our day and age, the history of humanity is experiencing one of the greatest and most difficult turning points which is of immense importance—one can say this without any exaggeration whatever—for the worldwide liberation movement.

The influence of October is comprehensive and truly enormous. But today I propose we that we limit our conversation to the following problem so as not to spread our attention too broadly: the emergence of a fundamentally new foreign policy, a new diplomacy, which originated in Lenin's peace decree and the first documents adopted by the young Soviet power. This is all the more important, in my view, considering that after the years of stagnation, when it was not acceptable to speak or pass judgment on our foreign policy actions and decisions, that in this sphere, too, positive changes are taking shape, and glasnost—which we all need so much—is assuming more force than ever.

[Pyadyshev] The October anniversary is a good pretext for examining once more the thoughts, ideas, and judgments that were used by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms to form the basis of the foreign policy of the young socialist state being born. Unfortunately, over the past decades these ideas and judgments—Leninist notions of what a foreign policy of the Soviet Union should be—

have been pushed aside somehow and obscured by other sorts of stereotypical judgments. And now, in many respects, we are practically engaged in reading Lenin afresh. Lenin did not at all view the Soviet state as some sort of besieged fortress. Undoubtedly, Lenin believed that the Soviet state, despite the fact that this state had a different, new, social and political system, must be a part and element of the world community of states. Lenin's peace decree, his rejection of secret treaties, and his call for glasnost were a unique historical tuning fork and as such they set the main tone of Soviet foreign policy. Thereby he directly promoted the assertion of progressive notions, common to all mankind, of foreign policy, diplomacy, and the task that foreign policy faces with regard to ensuring a normal operation of the Soviet state in the international arena as a sovereign, independent, and territorially integral body in optimal conditions for its political and socioeconomic development.

In the first months and years of the Soviet power, when it was deprived of the opportunity to maintain contacts with the outside world, our diplomacy talked with the language of its decrees, with the publication of the secret treaties of tsarist Russia, and through the Soviet Government's address to all Muslim working people of Russia and the East. It talked to them through protest notes which were pervaded by conviction in the rightness of the cause of the revolution. Often there was no one to hand these notes to, but they were broadcast on radio and telegraphed. They influenced world public opinion and through it, governments. It is precisely in this way that Soviet diplomacy was born. It brilliantly demonstrated antidogmatism, readiness and skill to follow a creative policy which took into account realities and demands of that time. The Brest Peace Treaty, Genoa and Rapallo, and other successes of the young Soviet diplomacy exemplify this. And now too our Soviet diplomacy is returning to its Leninist origins.

[Shishkin] I think that there is no doubt of course that October laid the basis of our policy. And it is clear that when at present we talk about the new political thinking, it is precisely the rebirth of Leninist ideas that we have in mind. But I think that while the new political thinking is based on the ideas of October, at the same time its necessity and its urgency have been put forward by life itself precisely by the events and the development of world civilization that followed later.

[Agayants] Quite right.

[Shishkin] I see this development as the unbelievable intensification of the mutual interdependence of the world over the 71 years since the October Revolution. It is as if the world has become smaller because the speed at which contacts take place and the means of establishing contacts have been considerably enhanced. In addition, simply the dependence of one country on another and the mutual penetration of economies have also incredibly grown. Finally a factor, quite a fundamental one, which mankind did not know hitherto, has emerged—

that of nuclear weapons—which has effectively handed to humanity the means of self-destruction and thereby put the question of mankind's survival at the center of politics as one of today's immediate tasks.

The 3 and ½ years that have passed...

[Agayants, interrupting] ...since the April plenum.

[Shishkin] ...since the April plenum of insistent struggle by our state and our diplomacy for the new political thinking are already bearing the first fruit. This is also being reflected on the development of the camp of socialist countries which are direct heirs and even children of the October Revolution. I say that they were engendered by the ideas of the October Revolution. But here too, this new political thinking is beginning to operate and leads us also to rethink relations between socialist countries.

[Agayants] Rejecting past stereotypes, we nevertheless stress that one of the main tasks at the modern stage of the development of socialist states is—and this is confirmed by life itself—the perfection and enrichment, by all means possible, of cooperation between our fraternal countries to ensuring their close interaction in the political, economic, ideological, cultural, defense, and other spheres and to provide an organic combination of the national and internationalist interests of all participants of the socialist community. What is involved here is shifting the relations between the countries onto an intensive track, in other words, making them more effective, restructuring the system of the socialist states' relations within the framework of CEMA in the interest of accelerating socioeconomic progress on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements, something which naturally presupposes the elimination of any barriers for effective and mutually beneficial international cooperation.

Taking a look from this angle at CSSR Government chairman Ladislav Adamec's working visit to the USSR last week, one ought to view it as a success. During the Czechoslovak premier's meeting with Comrade Gorbachev, the participants in the conversation were unanimous on the fact that the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR is an exceptionally promising cause which holds the possibility of great benefit for both countries. Both sides are prepared to move more bravely toward the introduction of extraordinary and innovative forms of relations, thereby strengthening the material foundation of friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples and further operating as part of a single front for the good of peace and socialism.

At the 3 November CPSU Central Committee Politburo meeting, a report was heard by USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on the results of the work of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in Budapest. Its participants, as already

reported, confirmed the unity of the positions of the allied states on the most important foreign policy problems and readiness to actively assist strengthening and developing positive tendencies in international affairs.

[Pyadyshev] The first session of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states was held in Moscow a little over 10 years ago. Since then, the KMID—the abbreviated name we give to the Foreign Ministers Committee—has become one of the Warsaw Treaty's most important bodies after the conference of the Political Consultative Committee. It ought to be said that in observing its work—and I happened to be directly involved in the preparations for the last few KMID sittings—it can be said that this body is gaining more and more strength and becoming an effective and authoritative means of pursuing the coordinated foreign policy of the allied states. What made this KMID Budapest sitting distinctive was the fact that on this occasion we saw only a brief communique on the results in the press.

[Agayants] Why is this?

[Pyadyshev] The reason is that the conference participants have now concluded that the same thoughts and ideas that used to be expressed in, let's say, 10 or 12 pages of typewritten text, can now be set out in a more compact form—and therefore more poignantly and cogently—in 3-5 pages. And this makes it possible to focus attention on the main document of the KMID sitting.

[Agayants] You mean the statement on measures for confidence-building and security and disarmament in Europe?

[Pyadyshev] Yes. That statement was the pivotal and key result of the Budapest conference. I would say that it is a serious and important document with, at its core, the firmly expressed willingness and desire of the allied states of the Warsaw Treaty to concentrate their efforts on bringing the Vienna meeting to a conclusion. This, a successful conclusion, would make it possible to get down before the end of the year to negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, negotiations which, it must be mentioned, would be unique in scale and significance. I would also like to mention that the reaction in the West to the Budapest conference documents has, on the whole, been quite good. At least no Western leadership has rejected these proposals of ours on the spot. Moreover, Genscher, for instance, has stressed the positive aspect of the Budapest conference.

[Shishkin] Boris Dmitriyevich, I think that in analyzing the reaction to the socialist countries' joint actions, we perhaps ought not to restrict ourselves to what various statesmen say or various newspapers write in the different capitals. It is important to watch the conduct of governments and the conduct of official state bodies. Seen from this angle, I think the latest NATO meeting in

Brussels was indicative. It is known that the United States went to that meeting with the firm intention of securing the agreement of NATO's European member countries to the modernization of the remaining nuclear weapons with ranges not encompassed by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

[Agayants] Which was signed in Washington and ratified in Moscow.

[Shishkin] Yes, and which has already come into force. It turned out, however, that there in Brussels, for perhaps the first time, the United States came up against fairly strong opposition. Individual countries simply declared that they were not willing to go ahead with it, as was the case, for example, with the conference host country, and the conference failed to adopt the clear-cut decision the United States had been campaigning for. I perceive in this the influence of our ideas and proposals both on eliminating nuclear weapons and reducing conventional weapons, and our willingness to accept asymmetrical reductions of conventional weapons. What do you think, Boris Dmitriyevich? Am I right in drawing these conclusions?

[Pyadyshev] I am in complete agreement with you on the importance, first and foremost, of the way in which governments or a bloc of governments react to our proposals and our stances. Nevertheless, I would like to note that sometimes, you know, individual statements by individual leaders can also be extremely eloquent. These kinds of arguments are also fairly eloquent and symptomatic; they indicate that over the past 3 years or more, great changes have been taking place in the minds of Westerners and their leaders under the influence of events in our country, under the influence of our energetic foreign policy.

[Agayants] That is undoubtedly true, Boris Dmitriyevich. I recall an editorial in the journal U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT under the title: "Should the West Help Gorbachev?" The general view it put across was that yes, of course, restructuring and Western assistance to the Soviet Union will make the USSR an even more powerful state, but that as glasnost, democracy, and our economic and political restructuring develop, they will open up the possibility of, if you like, more mutual trust and opportunities for cooperation. This has been said in various connections by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, too. These positive shifts, then, are noticeable, and if we are now hearing fewer such statements or, I would say, certain positive reaction to our initiatives and our policy from the Americans, it may be due to the domestic political situation there, since the presidential elections are taking place the day after tomorrow, 8 November.

Who is to be the new occupant of the White House? The Republican's representative, George Bush, or the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis? There is no doubt that this is the No 1 question in all the U.S. mass media

at the moment. The primaries, the primary elections during which the Republican and Democratic candidates are selected by a process of elimination, are now past, as are the two parties' national conventions, the television debates between the men running for office as the U.S. head of state, and the numerous public opinion polls. Given the time difference between us and the United States, I think that we will know the name of the 41st president of the United States on 9 November. But all the same, Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, how do you rate Bush and Dukakis' chances now, on the eve of this important political event, and what direction do you think Soviet-U.S. relations will take following the very powerful and positive impetus they have gained from the four summit meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow?

[Shishkin] I would like to begin with the last question concerning Soviet-U.S. relations. It cannot be said that this is a matter of indifference to the Americans at the moment, despite the elections taking place. On the contrary, very influential U.S. circles, thinking circles and members of what is known as the U.S. establishment, are publicly making the point in such authoritative organs as the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS that the U.S. Administration is being passive as regards the Soviet Union, that Gorbachev's Soviet Union has issued such a challenge to the world, has so excited the world's imagination and is coming out with such major, significant, and large-scale initiatives—which have seized the imagination of the very broadest strata of society in every country, including the United States—that under such circumstances the United States cannot merely stand by and watch and react passively. It ought to be adopting a bolder, more creative, and more enterprising stance on all of today's major issues.

[Agayants] But Gennadiy Arkadayeich, no matter what the outcome of the election, to judge by what the candidates have stated—both Bush and Dukakis—they are both in favor of continuing the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

[Shishlin] Yes, without a doubt, without a doubt. You see, when the Americans go to the polls on 8 November they will not actually be voting for Bush or Dukakis; the votes will be cast not for them, but for what are known as electors. The electoral college is formed as follows: Each state puts forward the same number of electors as it has members in the House of Representatives and senators. Thus, there are 435 members of the House of Representatives, 100 senators—which makes 535—plus three electors from the District of Columbia.

[Agayants] That is to say there is no reason to speak of any genuine democratism in the elections?

[Shishkin] No. What is the result of all this? Thanks to this system, not infrequently it turns out that the candidate declared to be elected is not the one who receives a majority of the voters' votes—he will have received a minority, even—but the one who obtains a majority of

electors. That was the case when they elected President Truman; he obtained fewer votes from the voters than did his rival, but more electors, and he became president. That was the case with President Kennedy and with President Nixon in the 1968 election. Now all estimates show that if one analyzes which states will vote for electors in favor of Bush, it turns out that he already has considerably more electors than is necessary to be elected.

[Agayants] Nevertheless, let us wait for the results of the U.S. presidential elections, and then we will know precisely who will be entering the White House in place of Reagan.

[Pyadyshev] Some time ago I had the opportunity to meet Ronald Reagan, the U.S. President, in his presidential Oval Office in the White House, where I had a conversation with him in connection with his long article for the journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN.

[Agayants] Excuse me, Boris Dmitriyevich, is that the article published in the latest issue of your journal?

[Pyadyshev] In the November issue of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN which is appearing about now. But it seems to me that of course not everything is beyond dispute in the President's article, in the President's reasoning. But our readers, who are currently passing through the school of restructuring and whose view is becoming more perceptive, more reasonable, and wiser, will easily sort out those statements by the President that are to the point and what has been said for effect. But at the same time it is worth looking at what is interesting in the President's arguments from the viewpoint of their application to our own practice and our restructuring. What he has to say about the system of balances and counterbalances in state structure which ensure pluralism of opinions and work toward the prevention of a cult of personality being established is interesting for our experience in building a socialist, law-governed state. President Reagan speaks and writes with respect for our country and for the fact that, and I quote, the great culture of your country of many nations, breathing with high passion, speaks in a language that is understandable by the whole of mankind.

The article makes it clear that current events in the Soviet Union strike a deep response in the political life of the United States. Here is another quotation: You, Reagan writes, are living through one of the most exciting times in your history, when one considers the importance of your country for the history of the whole world. As I have already said, the meeting with Reagan took place in the President's Oval Office. It was a long time ago and in a completely different context that it was said: From childhood I have not liked ovals; from childhood I have drawn angles. In present-day life, with its angles of intractability and spearheads of confrontation striving to

hurt everything that is living, the oval—elasticity in conducting affairs and smoothness in holding contacts—is in my view much more preferable and more reliable.

[Agayants] Thank you, Boris Dmitriyevich. It only remains for me to recommend our many listeners and potential readers of your journal to read this article carefully.

At the end of our program I think we still ought to dwell upon a very painful, bleeding subject, the subject of the regional conflicts in the so-called hot spots of the world and primarily, of course, events in Afghanistan. The world community, in the persons of the delegates to the UN General Assembly, welcomed the accords on Afghanistan concluded in Geneva. Without voting—on the basis of a consensus—they adopted a resolution this week calling for strict respect and conscientious fulfillment of the Geneva agreements by all parties concerned—they must adhere fully to the letter and the spirit of these accords. All that is fine. But bombs, shells, and missiles are still exploding in the Republic. The blood of peaceful inhabitants is still being spilled. The intransigent opposition refuse point-blank to take part in a dialogue with Kabul. Sheltered behind talk about some sacred war against the faithless, they sow enmity amongst Muslims and doom the country to grief and deprivation. At the same time Pakistan and the United States give them the broadest support. Moreover they strive to shift the blame and responsibility for the armed conflict, which is not dying down, upon the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government. So what is actually happening?

[Pyadyshev] The Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership are moving things firmly and confidently toward complete fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. These agreements determine the date of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, 15 February 1989. Hence by the 15th, by the middle of next February, there will be none of our soldiers, none of our troops, in Afghanistan. We want this. And we are doing everything that is incumbent upon the Soviet Union both in the military, political, and all other fields to ensure that the Geneva agreements are completely fulfilled. A couple of days ago Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister, made a statement setting out our present Soviet position on Afghanistan in connection with the latest development of events there. In particular, Comrade Bessmertnykh provided an explanation in connection with the question that is currently being whipped up very widely in the West.

[Agayants] In connection with the missiles?

[Pyadyshev] In connection with the Soviet missiles which are now being used in Afghanistan to create more favorable conditions for withdrawing the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In the military sense these are missiles that are a powerful and effective weapon; their range is no greater than 300 kilometers, hence these weapons are intended for use only within Afghan parameters. They

are being targeted and used exclusively against concentrations of armaments and armed groups of mujahidin which are preparing attacks upon columns of Soviet troops. So that one can practically say that these weapons are being used exclusively for defensive purposes. In Afghanistan we are counting on political means of resolving the issue, and we are convinced that the Geneva agreements can and must be fulfilled.

[Shishkin] Without any doubt, the Afghan settlement is a model of how regional conflicts must be solved. That is how it was evaluated throughout the world. But when we talk about a political solution, we must not forget that any solution of that kind is a two-way street.

[Agayants] The realities of today's Afghanistan are such that there is no alternative to national concord, and attempts to ignore the true arrangement of political forces in that country will lead only to a prolonged war.

Our program has come to the end. All those taking part in it send you their greetings, comrade radio listeners, on the approaching holiday of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Revolution and wish you success, good health, and happiness! All the very best to you!

Reply to UN on Humanitarian Problems Published
LD0811105688 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT
8 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev:

The conviction of the need for democratization of international relations is a point of departure for the Soviet approach to tackling humanitarian problems.

This is the gist of a Soviet reply to questions by the U.N. secretary general, which was quoted, along with replies of some other countries, in the report "New International Humanitarian Order" published on Monday.

Suggesting a new concept for all-embracing international security and peace, the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that humanitarian security is as important in its global significance as political, military, economic and ecological security and is in direct and inseparable connection and interdependence with it. Establishment of efficient international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere (directly affecting man) can and must become one of the main factors of overcoming confrontation, enmity, mutual mistrust between states and intolerance between people. Stepped up cooperation in the humanitarian area of world politics would create a qualitatively new moral and psychological atmosphere in international relations and would enable mankind to advance quicker towards ensuring military, political and economic security.

A joint search for ripe human problems (including those of legal, social and ecological character), such as hunger, diseases, extreme poverty, destruction of the environment, natural calamities, technological and transport disasters, unemployment and illiteracy, should make up the content of international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. The task of improving the situation of the most vulnerable groups of population needs redoubled efforts on the part of the U.N.

The Soviet Union, the report points out, attaches special importance to the development of favourable and business-like cooperation in such humanitarian spheres, making a direct imprint on people's minds, as culture, education and exchange of information. The USSR firmly stands out for enlightening and inspiring content of exchanges in these spheres.

United States & Canada

Sakharov Speaks on U.S.-USSR Cooperation
LD0711143088 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet Union and the United States together can cope with a great task—protect peace on earth, end violence, and solve the problem of hunger. That statement was made by a well-known Soviet physicist, Dr Andrey Sakharov, to newsmen who met him in Boston. He arrived in the United States at the invitation of the International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind. The fund's main objectives are disarmament, protection of the environment, and improving the situation in the field of human rights.

During his stay in the United States Dr Sakharov will visit his wife's relatives living there and meet with American scientists. American news agencies say Andrey Sakharov will be received by the President, Ronald Reagan.

Reportage on Bush Foreign Policy Remarks

Bush Interviewed
WA18120105 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 37, 18-25 Sep 88 pp 6-7

[Interview with George Bush by Edgar Cheporov, MOSCOW NEWS correspondent in New York: "Peace Through Strength"]

[Text] MN: What place does your foreign policy programme occupy in your election campaign? In your opinion what aspects of this policy are the most significant for the voters?

G.B.: Defending freedom is our first responsibility. Advancing freedom is our moral responsibility. It is a fundamental principle of American foreign policy. I will never apologize for helping others win their freedom. We live in the freest, the fairest, and the most generous nation on the face of the earth. And if we cannot offer help, who can? As president I will stand up for and support freedom and democracy around the world.

The United States proudly stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua. As president, I will continue to support all brave freedom fighters. I have visited the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan and have seen first-hand the human tragedy resulting from Soviet occupation. Because of our help and the help of freedom-loving people everywhere, the Soviets found a means to withdraw from Afghanistan. I fully support aid to Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters in Angola. Reconciliation between the warring factions in Angola and the withdrawal of Cuban troops is the only visible political solution. In Nicaragua, I fully

support the freedom fighters until or unless it becomes clear that the current peace proposal can lead to genuine democracy. We will not abandon the contras in the field.

A Bush administration will stand by nations that face internal and external threats to their independence and with those who value liberty. Foreign assistance, trade, and investment programmes are all ways that I support to promote economic development and the growth of democratic political institutions. A Bush administration will also discourage Soviet and other state-sponsored adventurism by increasing the costs to those who use surrogate terrorist and subversive forces to exploit instability in the developing world.

America's policy must be to support and encourage the spread of freedom and democracy around the world.

MN: During R. Reagan's presidency the USA and the USSR signed a number of important agreements on arms control. Do you think that this process needs further development?

G.B.: The INF Treaty President Reagan signed in December was a major step forward in our relations with the Soviet Union. It is not the millennium, but it is something we can build on, and it is a victory of will and determination. The president first proposed the so-called "zero option" six years ago, when the Soviets had a monopoly on these intermediate-range missiles in Europe. They said no to our offer—and so we countered their missiles with our missiles. Then they changed their mind.

Just as important as our strength was our steadiness—our refusal to be stampeded into unwise concessions by our desire for peace. We must continue to maintain that same resolve. While we should be willing to take bold steps for peace, we must not do so under artificial deadlines. I believe the INF treaty will be looked upon some day as a watershed agreement—the first to actually reduce—not just limit, but reduce—the number of nuclear weapons in the world, one that achieves a balance through asymmetrical reductions—1600 of their warheads to 400 of ours, one that breaks new ground on verification and puts us on a new track towards a more stable and enduring deterrence.

What is significant is not just that we are eliminating a small percentage of our nuclear arsenal, but that we are reversing the patterns of the past—away from more and more weapons and toward greater stability and safety. The verification requirements are a major achievement in themselves. The Soviets have agreed to a new level of openness—openness we have sought for many years. Our scientists will now be allowed to visit Soviet weapons plants that were completely shut off to the West. Soviet inspectors will have equivalent access to our installations.

These on-site, on-demand inspection procedures are major steps forward—ones that will reveal far more about the Soviets than simply whether they are willing to abide by the terms of the treaty. They will, in my view, demonstrate just how far the Soviets are willing to go in seeking a new kind of relationship with us, and they may be the beginning of a whole new chapter in East-West relations.

But we must be realistic. From my days at the UN and the CIA to the White House, I have observed that the Soviets test every president and push every agreement to its limits and beyond. We must be vigilant, and we must be tough, and we must stand up for the values that define us as a nation. We have taken the first step toward a more stable nuclear balance. What is the next step, and how will it move us towards our destination?

We have proposed to the Soviets that we cut in half the number of weapons in our strategic forces—with a particular eye on the Soviets' destabilizing, multiple-warhead, land-based missiles. At the end of the summit, we issued a detailed joint statement that built on the INF breakthrough and instructed our negotiators to push for similar progress on the START treaty. Success in these talks would bring a measurably safer world.

MN: What political, military and scientific reasons are there for you to support the SDI?

G.B.: Successful research on SDI can lead to an effective defensive shield, one that lifts from the shoulders of mankind the fear of nuclear annihilation. It is both moral and logical to look for a solution that is better than mutually assured destruction. The SDI has strong moral underpinnings—a deterrent strategy based on strategic defences—coupled with deep reductions in offensive forces—could offer us the most stable and secure environment of all. Isn't it better, as we move forward in the nuclear age, to put weapons at risk, not people? This is the moral underpinning of our programme.

We are undertaking SDI research and testing as permitted under the ABM treaty. We are also trying to move our research and testing programmes forward so that we can make an informed decision on SDI deployment in the early 1990s. We should pursue arms negotiation agreements with the Soviet Union under the four criteria which have been used since the beginning of the Reagan administration. We are pursuing deep cuts to equal levels with agreements that can be verified and that will enhance stability. These principles have brought us to success in the INF agreement. In this context, we see SDI as an insurance policy, not a bargaining chip. SDI has helped bring the Soviets back to the bargaining table where they are now negotiating seriously.

MN: What spheres, other than arms control, demand an improvement in American-Soviet relations?

G.B.: Today we watch with guarded optimism the changes being talked about in the Soviet Union. Yes, much is still just that, talk, but in a totalitarian society talk can be revolutionary. The steel door has opened a crack and the fresh air of freedom is beginning to seep through—will that door slam shut again, as it has in the past, or open up to a new age of hope, a new age in which peace is predicated upon its only true and lasting basis, the mutual interests and interdependence of free societies?

We cannot know that now—but we can know that the promise of glasnost, of perestroika, didn't take place in a vacuum, but in the context of reinvigorated American strength. During the late seventies, at the ebb tide of American power, it must have seemed to the Soviets that they could win the world competition. But I suspect that dream rapidly faded as America pulled out of the malaise economy of the seventies and into the entrepreneurial growth economy of the eighties, as we rebuilt our military and met Soviet aggression and subversion around the world with a renewed resolve to support those fighting for their freedom and cause of human liberty.

MN: You have expressed confidence in your victory at the elections many times. What is this confidence based on?

G.B.: In the years ahead, I want to make America become known as the nation that's first—first in creating jobs, first in education, first in standing up for freedom and democracy around the world. In areas where America is already the world's leader, I want to keep America first and in those areas where we might be lagging behind, I want to make America first.

I have a vision for America. It's an America where every man and woman who wants a job can have one; an America where our educational system is second to none; an America that stands for peace through strength.

The United States is the freest, fairest, and most generous nation on earth. We are a great nation. But I think we can be even better. Our best days are still ahead, and I want to lead America in the 1990s. The American people are looking for a president with both top-level national experience and foreign policy experience. They're looking for an active president who has shown integrity and compassion. The American people want a president who is a good manager, and, perhaps most of all, they want a president who is a proven leader.

Anyone who looks at what I've accomplished in my life, and listens to my goals for America's future will see that I have these qualities.

Zagladin Commentary

WA18120105 *Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English*
No 37, 18-25 Sep 88 pp 6-7

[Commentary by Vadim Zagladin: "No, Peace Through Reason and Realism"]

[Text] I shall make no secret of the fact that I find George Bush's position sufficiently contradictory.

For instance, he speaks about the approach of a new age, "In which peace is predicated upon its only true and lasting basis, the mutual interests and interdependence of free societies." We also believe that we live in an age of interdependence, determined by humankind's common need for survival and the existence of difficult problems which the human race must tackle together. State-to-state relations in the modern world must rest not on the balance of strength, but on the balance of interest. In this respect, George Bush's views and ours seem to be at one. This is hopeful.

But elsewhere in his interview, Bush, forgetting all about mutual interests, eulogizes the cult of strength, which he sees as the only real basis of any given policy. It is American strength, he believes, that has led to the improvement in Soviet-American relations. And if so, then "strength" is also the key to a peaceful future.

All of this, I should add, is nothing new. Declarations of this kind are common for many American politicians. But can we agree with them? Absolutely not.

I don't want to delve into history, but it's impossible not to recall that over the past few decades, the policy of strength has only acted to the detriment of the US economy (a fact now widely admitted in the US itself), led to a lowering of its leverage in the world economy, and has by no means reinforced its prestige. And the main thing—it is the policy of strength that has resulted in the emergence of a mortal threat to the lives of both the Americans and all other inhabitants of our planet.

"Self-sufficiency of strength" is an expression which was born in the United States. Self-sufficiency is in general not the best of human qualities. But self-sufficiency of strength is simply dangerous, because it is like wearing dark glasses through which it is difficult to see the realities of the modern world. And in his interview George Bush confirms this.

He says: "The promise of glasnost, of perestroika, didn't take place in a vacuum, but in the context of reinvigorated American strength." I think that this is a case of self-delusion, and very dangerous self-delusion at that.

Because if glasnost and perestroika are the result of strength, then it's only the strength of the reason and intellect of our people and our Party who, having taken a bold look at reality, recognized the desperate need for our society's rejuvenation and were able to find—

although not easily—optimal ways to accomplish it. In other words, the promise of perestroika and glasnost took place in the context of socialism's growing maturity, in its ability for self-improvement, and in its sense of responsibility for the fate of life on earth.

In his interview, George Bush assesses the INF Treaty as a major step forward, lowering the level of nuclear armaments and also signifying a new stage in exercising control over arms reductions. All of this is fair. But the trouble is that even in this case the presidential candidate sees the reasons for this breakthrough in America's policy of strength. Inasmuch as this interpretation is often given credence both in the US and in the West in general, it has to be examined in somewhat greater detail.

Indeed, the changes in our foreign policy—its growing constructiveness, the readiness to find mutually acceptable solutions, and glasnost in international affairs—are apparent. These changes have definitely facilitated the positive changes taking place in world affairs. However, these changes are by no means a result of someone "pressuring" us. They are a result of perestroika, of the new mode of thinking. Having weighed and analyzed every aspect of the new situation on the world scene, we have arrived at the firm conclusion that we must get rid of the old logic international relations and switch over to what are primarily political methods for resolving existing problems on the basis of a search for the balance of interests. Only in this way can we save the world from impending threats.

One of our first steps along the new road was Mikhail Gorbachev's package of proposals for the creation of a nuclear-free world. From it there is a straight road leading to the INF Treaty.

Of course, this Treaty became possible as a result of interaction between Moscow and Washington, that is, of a definite "realism breakthrough" in American policy as well. In reference to the INF Treaty, George Bush says in his interview: "...We are reversing the patterns of the past—away from more and more weapons and toward greater stability and safety." Fine words. But...

Immediately following this, Bush again reveals a desire to "ride the horse of strength." In his reply to the next question, he sings the praises of SDI. I shall not repeat all the arguments against the Star Wars concept—they are well known both here and on the other side of the Atlantic. But for clarity's sake, I shall refer to authoritative evidence. Speaking about the merits of SDI, former US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger once said that if the US managed to create the SDI system and the Soviet Union didn't, America would return to those wonderful times when it had the atom bomb and the USSR didn't. No mincing words here, is there?

SDI, George Bush says, has helped "bring the Soviets back to the bargaining table." I would say the opposite. If in the long run something can turn this table, this something is SDI. The presidential candidate is only deluding himself.

And now I'll return to George Bush's first and last answers to our correspondent's questions. George Bush says: "Defending freedom is our first responsibility. Advancing freedom is our moral responsibility." Elegantly put. But what does he have in mind?

The presidential candidate reaffirms his solidarity with the "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua. But *whom* does he mean? Those who are fighting against the legitimate governments of these countries, with which, incidentally, the US maintains diplomatic relations. *When* is all of this being said? At a time when these legitimate governments and a considerable portion of the opposition forces, as well as the entire world community, are working to find a peaceful political solution to old conflicts (created, incidentally, with Washington's active participation).

Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan, but Washington continues sending missiles there, missiles which explode in cities, destroying mosques and schools, killing innocent women and children. Is this a defence of freedom? The governments of Angola-Cuba and the RSA, with US participation, have been conducting talks on a political settlement of the existing situation. Though difficult, the talks have been forging ahead. Yet Washington immediately announces its decision to considerably increase its arms supplies to the forces fighting against the Angolan government. Is this a struggle for freedom? Displaying amazing restraint, the government of Nicaragua has been persistently seeking an end to the fratricidal war by pursuing a democratic course both in the country itself and in the surrounding region, and by carrying on a dialogue with its neighbours. Managua has been looking for ways of normalizing relations with the US as well. But Washington has been increasing its aid to the contras—primarily to those of them who are bent on returning to the disgraceful times of Somoza's dictatorship. Is this also a fight for freedom?

All nations and peoples need freedom. But a freedom which is consistent with their traditions, legal awareness and interests. The free choice by every nation of its own particular path of development is the prerequisite for civilized international relations.

George Bush maintains, however, that America alone knows who needs what. Why? He answers this question himself. In his opinion, the United States is the freest, fairest, and most generous nation on earth. Let us leave the question of how fair this definition is to the discretion of readers, primarily those in America. I, however, will put it this way: it would be simply bad if a high-ranking statesman were not a patriot. I am also a patriot. But I am convinced that real patriotism is incompatible

with arrogance towards other nations. Yet the logic of George Bush, who believes that America, as the best nation on earth, can afford to define for others, and instead of others, what these others need, what is good or bad for them, is precisely the logic of arrogance.

Arrogance is always insulting. And if it is displayed by a great nation, it often proves to be the ideological foundation of a desire to command others, if not the whole world. History shows that this kind of approach only leads to tragedy.

George Bush speaks about his desire to make America more perfect—in the sense of creating jobs, of education. This, by the way, shows that he knows his country's weak spots well (their list could be prolonged—which, I believe, he also knows).

The desire to make his country more perfect can't bring objections from anyone. The only thing which again this time puts a fly in the ointment is one more phrase about a desire to support peace with the help of strength.

But peace can be saved and strengthened only with the help of reason, realism and respect for other nations. George Bush's interview once again reinforces this conviction—even if it is with the help of "evidence to the contrary."

State Department Terrorism Report Criticized
18120104 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 37, 18-25 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by Yevgeny Lyakhov: "A Who's Who in Terror?"]

[Text] The US State Department issued a report on global terrorism in 1987.

This 70-page report is devoted to what the United States qualifies as acts of "international terrorism" or "state-sponsored terrorism" and includes a list of terrorist organizations and countries which, according to the USA, back terror.

Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, the Nicaraguan contras and Savimbi's cut-throats are not on the list. That fact alone makes one doubt the objectivity of this report. The US State Department regards national-liberation movements as the sole source of international terrorism. Therefore, one shouldn't be surprised to find the PLO, Syria and Libya on the list.

Previously, such reports were prepared by the CIA. The State Department has made certain changes and listed Afghanistan which allegedly has backed terrorist acts in Pakistan.

Everything has been turned upside down. According to the State Department, it is in Islamabad, not in Kabul that the US- and British-made rockets have been exploding since the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

In the meantime, the Afghan opposition, receiving aid from the USA and other countries via Pakistan, has bombarded Kabul alone with over 200 rockets. Scores of exploding devices have been set off. According to press reports, the United States has now decided to channel most weapons for the Afghan opposition directly rather than via Pakistan. Now, which country is missing on the list of international terrorists?

The definition of international terrorism has evolved in the course of international contacts: terrorist acts include illegal and deliberate acts of violence committed by one or more persons against organizations of other countries or international organizations, as well as their personnel, transportation means and other international objects. But, in defiance of that definition, official Washington has been branding as international terrorism any act against individual US citizens even if the act is not politically motivated. The amount of the anti-American activity allegedly pursued on the state level is inflated to make the increased countermeasures seem well justified.

International terrorism is a menace and a double-edge weapon. We admit that certain individual liberation movement fighters have been involved in terrorist acts, which incidentally have been condemned by the movement's leaders. Such facts discredit just struggles for national and social self-determination. Such terrorist acts have been used as a pretext for acts of state terrorism on the part of the imperialist forces.

We call a spade a spade. Why doesn't the State Department abandon its double standard and include all real terrorists on its list? Why not take a look in the mirror?

As for ways of opposing international terrorism, the authors of the report have again rejected the demand of the international community: to use political means to do away with global terror. The authors admit the need for broad international cooperation in fighting terrorism and the importance of international covenants consolidating the principle of the inevitability of retribution for carrying out, organizing and encouraging that kind of activity, but at the same time they propose military might as the solution.

The report stresses that the decline of international terrorist activity (in its authors' understanding of it) in the Middle East and Europe in 1987 is due to the USA and other Western nations. But the report doesn't mention the price of that achievement which looks rather dubious when one considers the methods used: terrorist methods on the state level. Consider the US bombing of Libya.

The State Department report does not give reason to hope that Washington is prepared to make a positive contribution to resolving the problem of international terror or drafting measures in conformity with the UN Charter.

International terrorism threatens values treasured by all humanity—world peace and cooperation between nations. Therefore, actions taken to counter terrorism must be undertaken with responsibility and objectivity. Soviet initiatives to stop terror, tabled at the UN and during bilateral meetings, can form a basis in the search for a mutually acceptable decisions. Will the United States join us on that platform?

TASS Comments on Overcoming Trade Discrimination
LD0411223888 Moscow TASS in English 2223 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—By TASS commentator Andrey Orlov:

If Gorbachev succeeds in overhauling the Soviet economy, will a threat to West's security scale up or down? This question which was put by the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES reflects the interpretation of the goals of perestroika (restructuring) and its chances for success, which is current in the United States. To all appearances, an enemy image is more attractive to someone in the United States than the new image of the USSR on the international scene.

As heated debates are conducted in the United States, Europeans seem to have already made the choice in favour of businesslike cooperation with the USSR. This is demonstrated by the successful visits to Moscow of the West German and Italian leaders, during which important economic agreements were signed and commercial deals concluded. This is also evidenced by large credits extended to the Soviet Union by major European banks.

It is noteworthy that the top ruling hierarchy in the United States, which moved to discuss the most involved problems of disarmament, in the field of commerce cannot shed the outdated stereotypes of the type of the notorious Jackson-Vanik Amendment. This paradox cannot be explained by political confrontation between the two great powers and it alone. Evidently, the matter is that ordinary American does not feel direct dependence between broader commerce with the USSR and his own wellbeing. As one congressman aptly put it, it is military concerns rather than firms doing trade with the USSR that gives workplaces to Americans. Place multi-billion Soviet orders in the United States and the whole of America will vote with both hands against the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

But if this vicious circle is not broken (specific economic results are needed to boost commerce, and to produce them it is necessary that commerce be expanded), one can fall behind the train altogether. For in the world of business the winner takes everything and the one who is behindhand pays.

Many Soviet economists hold that overcoming discrimination in trade is a matter of time. Refining the structure of the Soviet economy, promoting businesslike partnership with the West, including at the level of individual enterprises, setting up joint firms and a wide application of advanced management expertise will in combination gradually lead to a close cooperation of the USSR with GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] and the International Monetary Fund, will show that the Coordinating Committee for Exports to Communist Countries (Cocom) is only what it is in actual fact—a leftover of the “Iron Curtain” time.

Conversely, full-scale economic cooperation with the West, the United States included, will bring closer the attainment of these results. So, who are against?

And one more thing. The image of a Soviet bear threateningly showing its teeth, which was cultivated in the West in the past years, is directly linked with the self-same command-and-administrative system against which the reform of the Soviet economy is largely directed. But this system cannot be abrogated by a determined “administrative” decision. Joint business ventures, decentralization of management, elements of competition, economic autonomy of enterprises are all components of the new modern economic mechanism aimed at raising the people’s welfare, but by no means at carrying on the arms race. It is clear that the world economy in the 21st century is unthinkable without the USSR, and its full-fledged involvement in the international division of labour is a process in whose development all are interested.

China

PRC’s Tian Zengpei Leaves After Border Talks
PM0711154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: “Delegation Leaves”]

[Text] On 31 October the Chinese Government delegation led by Tian Zengpei, PRC deputy foreign minister, which has been taking part in the third round of Soviet-Chinese border talks left Moscow for Beijing. They were accompanied to the airport by I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Those present also included Li Fenglin, PRC charge d’affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union.

PRC Military Financial ‘Irregularities’ Viewed
OW0511043688 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2315 GMT 3 Nov 88

[From the “Novosti” newscast; Aleksandr Serikov commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Beijing, the command of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army [PLA] has undertaken a decisive struggle with financial irregularities within its ranks. Aleksandr Serikov comments on this report.

[Serikov] Hello, comrades. The days when we gave a practically one-sided view of life in other countries—only negative things in capitalist countries and mainly rosy things in socialist countries—are becoming a thing of the past. But life is more complex and it is not just a matter of curiosity; it is also educational to know all of its aspects.

The newspaper CHINA NEWS, for example, published an interview with Lieutenant General Zhang Bin, deputy director of the PLA General Logistics Department, who described how the struggle with financial irregularities is being waged in the PLA. This struggle is part of the general campaign being pursued in the country, aimed at exposing the reasons for abuses in financial and supply spheres and punishing the culprits.

General Zhang Bin noted in this connection that investigations being carried out in the Army are aimed at exposing those who grow rich on illegal deals with the civilian sector. The fact is that several hundred enterprises for the production of clothing and footwear and which provide various services to the 3 million Chinese servicemen are under army control. Enormous sums—more than 5 billion yuan, or about \$1.5 billion in 1987 alone—are involved.

Cases of illegal deals, speculation, and corruption in the army, although rare, are nevertheless of concern to the command, General Zhang Bin said. Therefore it has been decided to separate the Army from these enterprises and to prevent members of the military from holding management positions. The Army will simply receive the final product and handle its distribution. As you know, an economy and thrift campaign is underway in China. The Army is also joining this campaign and in particular, it is decreasing capital investments in construction.

The assessment the newspaper gives to the way the question of financial irregularities in the Army has been raised is most noteworthy; sooner or later we would have to talk about this, and the sooner the better. After all, we are talking about preserving the reputation of servicemen, which was always high in China, and about the great example that the Army must set for the civilian

population. Consequently the punishment for servicemen found guilty of illegal dealings will be more severe than for civilians found guilty for the same offense, the general emphasized.

Commentary on U.S. Attempt To 'Enslave' China
*OW0511213488 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 3 Nov 88*

[Commentary by station observer Libin]

[Text] Let us look back at an historical event. On 4 November 1946 the United States and the Chinese Kuomintang Government signed a treaty of friendship, trade, and navigation. In this connection, station observer Libin has the following comments:

[Libin] Following the smashing of Japanese militarism in 1945, U.S. imperialism immediately took control of most of China and vainly attempted to turn China into an American colony. In order to realize this plan, Washington provided massive military and financial aid to the Chiang Kai-shek regime to prevent the regime's bankruptcy under the pounding of democratic forces. As a condition for this aid, the United States signed a series of treaties of an enslaving nature with the Chiang Kai-shek regime. The treaty signed on 4 November 1946 was one of these.

This treaty provided many special privileges to the United States: it enabled the United States to interfere in China's economic and other affairs. Americans could have the right to freely reside, travel, engage in business, purchase and build houses, lease and keep land, and invest in enterprises in China. Never before had an imperialist country obtained such special privileges in China. In form, the treaty stipulated that Chinese people could also have such special privileges in the United States. However, such equality and mutual benefit were political hypocrisy that the United States always played at. It was quite apparent that an economically backward China could not enjoy the privileges stipulated in the treaty.

Chinese writer Mao Dun wrote at that time: In China's history there was never a treaty so barefaced and could so ruthlessly infringe upon the Chinese nation's sovereignty like this one.

The British NEW POLITICIANS AND DEMOCRACY WEEKLY had the following comments on the treaty on 22 November 1946: This treaty shows that a powerful country has damaged all lifelines of an economically backward country. It means the exchange of military aid to the traitorous and reactionary regime for the total control of that country's economic lifelines.

Chinese political circles and scholars held that the treaty was worse than the 21-article unequal treaty imposed on China by Japan. Their comments were quite convincing.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and with support and assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Chinese people won their revolution. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the United States' fond dream of enslaving China vanished. However, Washington has not given up its attempt. Up until now Washington has continued activities that infringe upon China's sovereignty. The United States' energetic support to the Kuomintang regime on Taiwan is a vivid example.

Correspondent Reports on PRC Trade Union Meeting
*LD3010221788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 30 Oct 88*

[Report by Beijing correspondent Vladimir Kulikov—recorded]

[Excerpts] It could be said without exaggeration that the 11th Congress of Chinese Trade Unions, which has just ended, will occupy a special place in the history of the workers' movement in China. In particular, it was stated that China's trade unions should become independent mass organizations of the working class, implementing principles of full democracy and playing an important role in the state and public life of China. It should be said that up until now, trade unions have not played this kind of role in China. The fossilized economic and political system that has been in operation in the country for a long time, characterized by excessive centralization of power, did not leave trade unions any space for initiative.

It is also important that during the reforms that have changed China's profile, the country's trade unions changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Currently, the number of manual and office workers in the country's towns and settlements exceeds 230 million, while the number of trade union organizations is 536,000. I met with some of the delegates to the trade unions congress and it should be said that their mood was most optimistic. [passage omitted]

It has become a custom at more than half of China's trade union organizations to hold meetings of representatives of manual and office workers. Last year, 16,000 cadre personnel were removed from leading posts at such meetings. They had not justified the confidence placed in them by workers. At 50,000 collectives, the composition of the administrative leadership was elected on a democratic basis. And as for the extreme form of protest for the working class, the strike, how it is viewed in China today was the subject of discussion both by the congress delegates and at news conferences and in the press. It is no secret that in recent years, strikes, sabotage, and production stoppages have repeatedly taken place at certain Chinese enterprises as a sign of protest. [passage omitted]

Chinese Construct Housing for Railroad Workers
OW2910060388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0930 GMT 27 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; A. Bardo video report]

[Text] According to an agreement between Zabaykalsk and Harbin railroads, Chinese specialists are speedily constructing a residential complex in Zabaykalsk village, Chita Oblast.

[Begin recording] [Bardo] The agreement on business cooperation between railroad workers of the neighboring areas of East Siberia and China envisages construction in the village of an apartment house, eating facility, and a sports and health complex. Soviet railroad workers will repay Chinese colleagues with lumber. [video shows Zabaykalsk streets, Chinese official Wei Dezhu being interviewed]

We have to admit that the rate at which the project is being constructed is unusual for this area. For example, the apartment house—the first project to be commissioned—is growing, as they say, before your very eyes. [video shows Wei Dezhu and Chinese workers at the project drawings, construction under way] The regular supply of construction materials, of course, contributes to this. The red bricks are supplied by the Chinese side. Everything else is brought from Chita.

Representatives of Zabaykalsk and Harbin railroad workers recently discussed prospects for further mutually beneficial business cooperation. A contract on construction in the village of another apartment house, a kindergarten, and a bathhouse will be concluded. Proposals have been considered to establish joint enterprises for lumber processing and furniture manufacturing.

[Wei Dezhu, identified by screen caption as the head of the construction, speaks in Chinese, fading into Russian translation] The contract, the implementation of which has been started, Comrade Wei Dezhu said, is an example of fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation. Another great contribution has been made to the strengthening of goodneighborly relations between the two great peoples. We hope that business ties between Soviet and Chinese railroad workers will broaden in the areas of joint goods manufacturing, trade, and the development of cooperation. [video shows Zabaykalsk railroad station] [end recording]

PRC Russian Specialists Meet Soviet Journalists
LD2810121388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1425 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Oct (TASS)—"Successful and fruitful" was the way Bao Wendi [name as received], chief editor of the Shanghai foreign literature publishing house, described a visit to the USSR by a delegation of Chinese Russian specialists at a meeting with Soviet journalists which took place in Moscow today. The

delegation of activists from the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society, including translators, editors, and literary specialists visited the Soviet Union from 13-27 October at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Links With Abroad.

"We are particularly glad that we have been given the opportunity to meet with our Soviet colleagues, writers, and translators of Chinese literature," Bao Wendi stressed. Works by Russian and Soviet writers enjoy great popularity in the PRC and take first place among translated literature. Modern Soviet literature is represented in China by translations of books by Yuriy Bondarev, Valentin Rin, Daniyil Granin, and other famous writers. These books give Chinese readers an opportunity to form a better understanding of the changes that are taking place in the USSR, Professor Chen Youtai [name as received], deputy director of the Xi'an Foreign Languages Institute, told a TASS correspondent.

Summing up the results of the Chinese delegation's visit, Vadim Solentsev, deputy chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and director of the Institute of Language Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that contacts of this kind make it possible to expand ties between the people of the two countries and to strengthen friendship between the two great peoples.

One other impression of the Chinese visitors: Restructuring in the USSR and the reforms taking place in the PRC have a great deal in common. "We convinced ourselves of this having visited Moscow, Leningrad, and Minsk, the capital of Belorussia, where we met with university teachers, literary specialists, and representatives of the public," Bao Wendi noted.

Soviet Geology Pavilion Draws Interest in Beijing
OW2810032388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2240 GMT 20 Oct 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; V. Kulikov video report from Beijing]

[Text] In recent years cultural and scientific exchanges between the USSR and China have become routine and traditional.

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] Since 1984 the Soviet Union has taken part in many international exhibitions held in China. The international Geology-88 exhibition that has opened in Beijing was no exception. The Soviet exposition is the largest at the exhibition, taking up an area of 500 square meters. Participating in the exposition are Soviet organizations engaged in the development of geology and research in the Land of the Soviets. [video shows models, photos, and graphics on display in the Soviet pavillion].

The exhibition has attracted great interest in China, where much attention is now being paid to geological research. For the first time in the past 10 years, Chinese visitors were able to get a direct look at the latest Soviet developments in geological prospecting, examples of drilling and mining equipment, and instruments and apparatus for geological research. Many of these instruments are unique.

There was a lot of activity around the stand where the Soyuzkarta Foreign Trade Association displayed samples of its work. One could take a look at a photograph of the Chinese capital taken from space and get acquainted with the most detailed maps of the world's oceans.

Along with foreign trade associations of our country, the Iskra Cooperative Company is also taking part in the exhibition. It offers a number of services, including the development and commissioning of new technologies for producing construction materials from coal waste. [video shows group of officials addressing journalists]

Chinese journalists attending a news conference swamped Valeriy Shpakov, the director of the Soviet exposition, with questions. This was by no means a capricious interest. The exhibition envisages the signing of business contracts and the establishment of mutually advantageous commercial ties. And not only commercial ties. People in China remember how in years gone by Chinese and Soviet geologists worked together. Many of those who have come to the exhibition today see in it a new impetus for restoring and developing scientific ties between the geologists of our countries. [video shows Kulikov interviewing a Chinese man]

[Sui Baowen, geologist, identified by screen caption; speaks in Chinese fading into Russian translation by Kulikov] I am extremely happy that normalized Soviet-Chinese contacts between various branches of science in our two countries are becoming increasingly close. [end recording]

Chinese Oceanographers End Soviet Visit
OW3010001388 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] A delegation of Chinese oceanographers ended their visit to the Soviet Union and left Vladivostok for home on Thursday. Prior to their departure, the delegation visited Moscow and Leningrad.

A protocol on cooperation in joint oceanic study, mutual visits, and exchange of research information was signed on Wednesday between the Chinese scientists and their counterparts of the Far East Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Delivers GOSR Speech in Kabul
LD0711194288 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 7 TASS—"Scrupulous and timely fulfillment by all parties concerned of their obligations under the Geneva agreements, and it alone, can bring about a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and around it", said Yuliy Vorontsov, the ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Afghanistan and first deputy foreign minister of the USSR. He spoke on Afghan television today on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the October revolution.

The ambassador stressed that for perestroika (drive for restructuring) now under way in the USSR to be a success the Soviet Union needs first and foremost peace and security, which directly hinge on a favourable international situation. The new approaches to international problems, especially to regional conflicts helped conclude the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan with the USSR and the United States acting as their guarantors. Eager to solve the Afghan conflict, our country firmly supported the national reconciliation policy.

We want the border between our countries to remain the border of peace, goodneighbourliness, friendship and cooperation in the subsequent millennia as well. The Afghan people can count in the future as well on the Soviet people's assistance in the advancement of the economy, science, culture, and in any area of their life and activity, Vorontsov said.

Further on Speech
LD0711231388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1701 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul, 7 Nov (TASS)—Today, on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of October, Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan and USSR first deputy foreign minister, spoke on Afghan television.

The last 7 decades, he said, for the Soviet people were equally hard years of revolutionary struggle and years of unprecedented historic gains.

The ambassador stressed that for restructuring now under way in the USSR to be a success the Soviet Union needs, first and foremost, peace and security, which directly hinge on a favorable international situation. The new approaches to international problems, especially to regional conflicts, helped conclude the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, with the USSR and the United States acting as their guarantors. Eager to solve the Afghan conflict, our country firmly supported the national reconciliation policy.

But the national reconciliation policy has opponents both inside the country and in the international arena. Only a scrupulous and timely fulfillment of their obligations by all parties concerned under the Geneva agreements can bring about a political settlement of the situation in and around Afghanistan. We are convinced that the Afghans have sufficient wisdom, will, and strength to achieve that noble goal.

An important confirmation of the principles of Soviet-Afghan relations were the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and President Najibullah, which took place this year, and the recent official friendly visit to our country by Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

We want the border between our countries to remain the border of peace, goodneighborliness, friendship, and cooperation in the subsequent millennia as well. The Afghan people can count on the Soviet people's assistance in the advancement of the economy, science, culture, and in any area of their life and activity, Vorontsov said.

Vorontsov Attends GOSR Event

LD0811095688 *Kabul BAKHTAR in English*
0427 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul, Nov. 7, BAKHTAR—The seventy first anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution was marked here on Sunday by Peace, Solidarity, and Friendship Organisation of Afghanistan and the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Association.

At the outset of the gathering Faqir Muhammad Ya'qubi, minister without portfolio spoke about the gains of the October revolution in various fields.

Later on Abdul Baseer Ranjber [name as received], chairman of the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation of Afghanistan called the October revolution the biggest event of the century and spoke on the Afghan-Soviet friendship.

At the end, Vorontsov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union in Kabul appreciated the efforts of the Afghan Government to celebrate the 71st anniversary of October revolution so magnificently, and offered his thanks to the people and Government of Afghanistan.

Abdulhamid Muhtat, vice president, Nezamuddin Tahzeeb [name as received], president of the Supreme Court, Mahbubullah Koshani, deputy prime minister, Haydar Masud, Politburo member and secretary of PDPA and chairman of the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Association and Vorontsov, ambassador extra-ordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union in Kabul also took part in the gathering.

Vorontsov Calls for New Talks on Afghanistan

LD0711220488 *Moscow Television Service in Russian*
1457 GMT 5 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Kabul between Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, and members of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of both chambers of the Afghan Republic's National Council.

The ambassador pointed to Afghanistan's and the USSR's serious and constructive approach toward observing the spirit and letter of the Geneva accords.

In the opinion of the USSR and Afghan leadership, the Soviet diplomat added, the time has come for a new international discussion on every aspect of the situation in Afghanistan and around it, as external forces—Pakistan and the United States—are involved in edging on the opposition to continue the bloodshed.

Comrade Vorontsov noted that the deliveries of new peaceful long-range weapons to Afghanistan was a measure taken in response to the opposition's intensified military operations. Protection against attack is the sovereign right of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, he said.

Bessmertnykh on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD0711193688 *Moscow Domestic Service*
in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Report on 4 November Moscow news conference addressed by Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister]

[Text] [Announcer] Now, Afghanistan. Of late, fabrications have been heard in statements by certain Western figures and in the press of a number of countries, about apparent violations by the Soviet Union of, if not the letter, then at least the spirit of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. All these fabrications have but one aim—to distract the world public's attention from the blatant violations committed by Pakistan with the support of the United States. At the USSR Foreign Ministry press center today, Comrade Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, met with journalists. He said, in part:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] The Soviet Union has been strictly fulfilling—and continues to fulfill—all the provisions of the Geneva agreements. In accordance with the agreements, 50 percent of the Soviet troops have been withdrawn by us from Pakistan [as heard]. The withdrawal was carried out under the observation of a United Nations group of military representatives who pointed out the Soviet Union's strict compliance with all the demands of the Geneva agreements.

Immediately after the start of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, instead of seeking ways to attain national reconciliation as proposed by Kabul, the Peshawar-based leaders of the Afghan opposition embarked upon whipping up the situation in the country.

The Peshawar opposition began to step up its military activity in various regions of Afghanistan with extensive use of missiles. At the same time, sabotage and terrorist activity, aimed at demoralizing the population and destabilizing the situation, was intensified.

Opposition bandit formations have of late been concentrating their strikes on Soviet troop units. In order to prevent a further mounting of terror, and in view of the warnings made earlier to the bandit formations and their Peshawar leaders, the Soviet Union has taken a number of countermeasures in the form of protection and legitimate self-defense. The Soviet Union is now supplying the armed forces of the Afghan Republic with extra consignments of more powerful weapons.

The partial planned replacement of Soviet units who have served their term in Afghanistan is being carried out. Some of the units arriving have more up-to-date equipment at their disposal. At the same time, I would like to emphasize that the quantity of equipment and personnel is not being increased.

In connection with various kinds of rumors concerning the Soviet missiles in Afghanistan which, as some people claim, are intended for strikes against Pakistan, I would like to emphasize that such a task has not been advanced. They are being employed only against the concentrations of equipment and arms being used against Soviet military units and peaceful towns in Afghanistan. The range of the Soviet missiles is less than 300 km. Accordingly, their deliveries have no relation whatsoever to the agreements and accords that have already been concluded. In particular, they are unrelated to the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Soviet bombers launch raids against arms dumps and hardware concentrations. Peaceful settlements, villages, and other populated areas are not among the targets of bomb and missile strikes.

The Soviet Union continues to proceed from the premise that the problems of Afghanistan can be resolved by peaceful means, and only peaceful means. The United States and Pakistan should use their influence on the bandit formations in order to end the bloodshed in that much-suffering country.

Afghanistan needs a constructive peace dialogue in order to achieve a political solution to internal Afghan problems. A cease-fire and the start of talks on setting up a coalition government on a broad basis, with the participation of all the forces that are currently opposed to one another, would be an important practical step in that direction.

Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, has long since proposed a cease-fire; moreover, Kabul has unilaterally proclaimed such a cease-fire.

The realities in Afghanistan today are such that there is no alternative to national reconciliation, and the attempts to ignore the true alignment of political forces will only lead to a protracted war. [end recording]

Afghan Premier Meets With Perez de Cuellar
LD0811091988 Moscow TASS in English 0716 GMT
8 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 8 TASS—U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar had a meeting on Monday with Prime Minister of Afghanistan Mohammad Hassan Sharq, now staying here.

Afghanistan's ambassador at the United Nations Shah Mohammad Dost, who was present at the meeting, told a TASS correspondent that the situation in Afghanistan had been discussed at the meeting.

The prime minister of Afghanistan reaffirmed the Afghan Government's intention to fully honour the Geneva agreements and informed the U.N. secretary general of its national reconciliation policy.

He requested Perez de Cuellar to use all U.N. possibilities to ensure strict compliance with the Geneva agreements by the other side, as well.

Afghan Premier, Overflying USSR, Greets Ryzhkov
PM0811095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "From on Board Aircraft"]

[Text] Muhammed Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, has sent a telegram to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, from on board an aircraft.

It says the following: "While flying over the territory of your wonderful country, I remembered my recent official visit to the Soviet Union and I take this opportunity to send you sincere greetings and best wishes for good health and send the Soviet people and the government wishes for further successes in implementing restructuring, both in the interests of your country and also in the interests of peace and security throughout the world."

Wakil Interviewed on Geneva Accords, New Weapons
LD0711142988 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 7 TASS—The Geneva accords on a political settlement in Afghanistan make it incumbent upon its signatories to cooperate and to strictly

meet their commitments, 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, has said in an interview with the BAKHTAR News Agency.

The protection of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence, as well as Afghanistan's membership in the Non-aligned Movement are the main component parts of a political settlement. The Afghan people pin their hopes on the creation of a coalition government on a broad basis, on a freedom of choice of a political system and a form of government, the termination of foreign interference and many other factors, the minister pointed out. The national reconciliation policy put forward by the present leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan is the only way to settling the conflict.

'Abdul Wakil accused Pakistan and the U.S. of ignoring the problem of the Afghan settlement. However, the attempts to disrupt the fulfilment of the Geneva accords are futile. The root cause of tension is not the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, but the escalation of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, especially on the part of Pakistan which arms the opposition, thus promoting the continuation of the fratricidal war. This refers, in the first place, to those regions of Afghanistan from which Soviet troops have been withdrawn already. If Pakistan and the U.S. observed the provisions of the Geneva accords like the USSR and Afghanistan are doing, peace would be established in the country.

We have stated on more than one occasion, 'Abdul Wakil continued, that Afghanistan will not remain indifferent to the incessant violations of the Geneva accords. A joint Soviet-Afghan decision to suspend the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was a response to it. The irreconcilable opposition must stop the armed struggle.

Speaking about new weapons given to Afghanistan, the foreign minister pointed out that the adoption of those weapons had been brought about only by defense needs. They are intended not for threatening anyone but for suppressing the hotbeds of resistance of the armed opposition, 'Abdul Wakil said in conclusion.

Afghan Ambassador Speaks on Solidarity Day
LD2510210588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Speech by Muhammadullah Subhani Safi, Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the USSR, to mark Solidarity With the People of Afghanistan Day, in Moscow; live or recorded]

[Text] As you know, the April national democratic revolution, which was victorious in 1978 under PDPA leadership, and which set out to free working people from poverty and oppression and social and economic backwardness, aroused the anger of regional reactionary

forces and international imperialism. Right from when the democratic transformations began, armed opposition from sections that were not pleased with the changes, appeared. Yet, gradually, with help from Pakistan, the United States and other Western countries, large-scale political armed groupings were organized and a large number of peasants became involved. In this way, the undeclared war, which has already been carried on for a number of years and has destroyed the peaceful life of our people, began. Even if we turn our attention away from the economic losses which exceed 265 billion afghanis, the losses of people come to more than 244,000 killed and many injured. The Afghan Government, following its peace-loving policy, is striving by every possible means to solve the problems that have arisen, using peaceful means to stop the fratricidal and senseless war.

On 15 January 1987, the policy of national reconciliation was announced. Because there was no alternative to this policy, it became irreversible and won the hearts of the people. Thanks to a policy of goodwill and necessary flexibility being shown in order to settle the Afghan situation as quickly as possible, the Geneva talks, which were carried on over many years between Afghanistan and Pakistan, culminated in a package of accords being signed on 14 April. In accordance with these and in strict accordance with the timetable, the withdrawal of a limited contingent of USSR troops began. The USSR soldier-internationalists carried out their duty with honor on Afghan territory. They helped Afghanistan build a barrier against interference from outside and did not allow it to become a center of reaction and aggression.

The PDPA and the Afghan Government sincerely support the USSR's peace-loving policy which, in the spirit of the new political thinking and restructuring, is reaching great heights.

Commentator Rejects Charges of Accords Violation
PM0811100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Veniamin Shurygin commentary under the general rubric "Viewpoint": "Wrong Address"]

[Text] The United States' UN representative Vernon Walters has received a group of Afghan opposition leaders from the camp of the "irreconcilables," headed by B. Rabbani, the current leader of the "Peshawar Seven." In conversation with them Walters claimed that the Soviet Union has of late stepped up its military operations in Afghanistan which, in his opinion, "calls into question Moscow's observance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan."

I have read the aforementioned agreements again with the closest attention, but I could not find anything that would bear out Walters' remarks in the least. After all, nowhere is it stated that the Soviet Union will stop giving assistance to the legitimate government of

Afghanistan. It is merely a question of the withdrawal from Afghanistan of foreign forces, which is what the Soviet Union is doing in accordance with the set timetable. So that any unprejudiced person can, having read the document, see for themselves that our country is strictly abiding by the commitments it accepted. This has been stated more than once by UN representatives monitoring the implementation of the Geneva accords and by other objective observers. On the other hand, many provisions of the Geneva agreements are being most blatantly violated by Pakistan with the connivance and encouragement of the United States. "Caravans of death" bringing in U.S. weapons which are used for intensive shelling of Kabul and other Afghan cities are constantly pouring into Afghanistan from Pakistan. Washington is keeping mum about these barbaric shelling as a result of which civilians are dying. On the other hand, in their speeches high-ranking U.S. officials are assuring the Afghan "irreconcilables" of invariable support, despite the fact that the Geneva agreements prohibit the use of Pakistani territory as a bridgehead of aggression and subversive activities against Afghanistan in any form whatsoever.

Incidentally, by receiving a leader of the "Peshawar Seven" in the U.S. residence at the United Nations, V. Walters has himself contributed to the violation of the Geneva agreements. After all, it is this grouping which set up a so-called "transitional government" on Pakistani territory in which B. Rabbani's party has been allocated the portfolio of the minister of internal affairs.

Therefore, the accusations of the United States' UN representative have clearly been sent to the wrong address.

Military Correspondent on Afghan Operations
PM0811110288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik's "Afghanistan Dispatch": "Strikes Against the Insurgents"]

[Text] Kabul's residents witnessed an impressive sight on the morning of 1 November. A convoy of combat equipment driving through the city streets accompanied by an escort of Afghan armored vehicles also included powerful new missile weapons taken into service by the Afghan Army.

Addressing the country's parliament recently, President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan announced that the Afghan Army had taken sophisticated new weapons into service. They were seen yesterday by Kabul's residents. Naturally, the appearance of these weapons is an enforced step in response to the massive deliveries of deadly missiles to extremist gangs via Pakistan's territory to enable them to shell cities and settlements. These weapons are one means of protecting the Afghan people from actions by the extremists. They

will be sent to the regions where missiles are launched against Afghan cities and where the bases and ammunition dumps of the "diehards" are located.

The new launchers struck a blow in response to mass shelling of the Afghan capital in the evening of that very same day. Journalists were told by Major General Muhammad Zaher Sulemal, chief of staff of the Afghan Army artillery, that missiles had been launched against an identified concentration area of Marulgad's [name as transliterated] insurgents in the southeast of Nangarhar Province.

According to BAKHTAR reports, combat actions continue on Afghan territory as a result of stepped up terrorism by extremists and incessant attacks by armed groupings of "diehards" against Afghan Army outposts and population centers. In response to stepped up combat actions by the opposition, Afghan Army units are conducting operations to eliminate insurgent formations and strongholds in different parts of the country. In the past few days the republic's armed forces has inflicted considerable losses on Mullah Malang's [name as transliterated] grouping, which had attempted to capture the airport and a number of districts of Qandahar.

A joint combat operation to escort a transport convoy to Helmand Province was completed at the end of October. Subunits from the limited contingent of Soviet troops joined an Afghan armored brigade in this operation. The insurgents systematically fired on the vehicles carrying grain, fuel, and prime necessities. Despite the opposition, the freight convoy successfully arrived in Lashkar Gah, the center of Helmand Province. The closing stage of this joint operation was the evacuation of two Afghan Army subunits, members of the servicemen's families, and specialists from Kajaki Soffa, where they had been guarding and operating the local hydroelectric power station. In the course of this operation, Afghan and Soviet soldiers inflicted considerable damage on Nasim's [name as transliterated] formations from the Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan. Dozens of extremists were killed and wounded. There were also casualties among the Afghan and Soviet soldiers.

A successful operation to rout extremists was also conducted by the republic's armed forces in Paktia Province. As a result of fierce fighting, 48 insurgents were destroyed and more than 30 wounded there. Those killed included six U.S. and Arab advisers, who were with the insurgents and took part in the fighting against government forces. In a conversation with the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Colonel General Shah Nawaz Tanay, defense minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, emphasized that, in parallel with the expansion of dialogue with the opposition and the opposition's involvement in the process of creating coalitions at central and local level, Afghanistan's Armed Forces will firmly put an end to the counterrevolution's actions to further exacerbate the situation in the country.

Western mass media are increasingly interfering in the alarming situation developing in Afghanistan. They have now launched a major campaign to misinform the world public about events occurring in the republic. They are slandering the PDPA and the Afghan Army soldiers in particular. For example, the VOA broadcast at the end of October a special report that, as a result of fierce fighting lasting 2 days, opposition forces had succeeded in capturing the city of Mahmud-e Raqi, administrative center of Kapisa Province, and that the garrison of government forces allegedly lost 100 men.

What actually happened in Mahmud-e Raqi? Lieutenant General 'Abdul Ghafar, first deputy chief of the Afghan Army's General Staff, made the following announcement: "The withdrawal of Afghan Army units from the administrative center of Kapisa was effected under an agreement with local elders within the framework of the course of national reconciliation and coalition pursued by the Government of Afghanistan. Some 148 men from the personnel of the 15th Tank brigade and an operational battalion of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with their standard complement of weapons were withdrawn from the city. Some 38 servicemen's families left with them. The withdrawal took place during the night of 19-20 October without any fire by insurgents and was accomplished without loss. Similarly, 140 personnel members and 48 servicemen's families were withdrawn from Nejrab, a county center in the same province. Insurgents did attempt to attack the leading column there, but they were repulsed. There was no loss among the personnel of the withdrawing units."

Turning to the appearance of new weapons in the Afghan Army, I can say that all Afghans with whom I had an opportunity to talk realize that this really is a step that the government has been forced to take. Aggression by the "diehards" must and will be terminated.

POW Returns Home After 6 Years of 'Captivity'
*LD0611183488 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT
6 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—"All my feelings can be best expressed by one word: Home. I am at home after six years of captivity, and I am happy," Sergey Tseluyevsky told journalists today. "My heartfelt thanks to all those who helped me to realise this dream".

Sergey is one of more 300 Soviet servicemen who had been taken prisoner in Afghanistan. He is already the 25th serviceman who has been able to return home due to the assistance of the Soviet and world public. He arrived in Moscow from New York in the afternoon and is to go tonight to the small town of Lomonosov, near Leningrad, where he was born.

"Only three days ago I could not believe that I would be at home," he said at a news conference which has been held at the Soviet Red Cross society. "But my fellow countrymen did everything for this to happen as soon as

possible. Much assistance was also rendered by the members of the international commission for the rescue of the Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan."

It is not easy to recall the past experience for the 24-year old man who is, of course, worn-out after so many years of suffering and his health is not quite good. But journalists asked him if only briefly to describe how it happened.

Sergey had been sent to Afghanistan in November 1982. He had been taken prisoner at the beginning of 1983 by armed mujahidin when he accidentally left the location of the unit. Several months later he had been brought to Pakistan.

In a very reserved manner he described brutalities which he had suffered when he had been kept in an underground prison, the beatings, hunger, and back-breaking physical work. He had been repeatedly close to despair and tried to commit suicide.

It seemed there was no way out, he explained. Last May he was brought to the United States. He spent two months in hospital then moved to live in Mahopac, a township not far from New York. He worked as a carpenter, roofer, and general worker.

"I never concealed that I wanted to return home", Sergey pointed out. "My love for the native land has probably helped me to hold out".

For six years he did not know anything about his relatives and had no correspondence with them. Only on the eve of his departure for the Soviet Union he heard them over the phone for the first time over the years.

Speaking of plans for the future, Sergey said that, to begin with, it was necessary to take medical treatment, and then he intends to study and work.

Vladimir Mariy, executive secretary of the coordinating committee of the Soviet public for the release of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner in Afghanistan, pointed out that the young man would be given all opportunities for that.

Mariy recalled the statement by USSR Procurator-General Aleksandr Sukharev that all servicemen who were earlier taken prisoner in Afghanistan and now return home will fully enjoy all the rights provided for by the Constitution of the USSR.

Those who performed unlawful actions to the detriment of the Soviet state would be granted an amnesty and would not be subjected to any persecution.

Afghan Embassy in FRG Holds News Conference
LD041121188 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn November 4 TASS—The Embassy of Afghanistan in the Federal Republic of Germany has called on the West German public to facilitate a peaceful settlement to the Afghan problem.

An embassy official, speaking at a news conference here, pointed to the senselessness and brutality of the Pakistani-based irreconcilable opposition's actions.

Even though there were nearly no direct armed clashes in Afghanistan, he said, about 500 people, including children, women and old men, were daily killed. This was a result of missile attacks on towns and explosions of bombs planted in shops, near bus stops and in market places.

An end should be put to this terror, he pointed out.

Foreign interference was evidenced by the fact that there were four American, five Pakistani and five Arab advisers among the armed opposition members killed on Afghan territory in the second half of October.

The Afghan Government is undertaking efforts to establish a coalition government that would comprise representatives of all political groups, including the armed opposition.

"It is only in this way, rather than by use of arms, that it is possible to tackle the problem of national reconciliation."

The opposition rejected these constructive proposals in a bid to attain its objective by way of the senseless shelling of towns.

The Afghan Government rejected the opposition's suggestion to hold a high jirgah without representatives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. "It does not correspond to the real situation in the country since the PDPA has proved to be an active, constructive political force. Its exclusion from political dialogue would result in the division of Afghanistan."

The embassy official stressed the importance of strict compliance with the Geneva agreements which formed a real basis for a peaceful settlement and the cessation of bloodshed in the country.

Film Depicting Afghan Veterans Criticized
PM2410105788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Oct 88 First Edition p 2

[Article by V. Dashkevich, member of the USSR Writers Union, under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Careful! Paid for in Blood... About the Film 'Pain' and Not Just About It"]

[Text] Pain takes various forms. At the level of sensation: A sting from a bee, a jolt in the trolleybus.... The sooner you forget it the better. But the time comes when pain becomes nationwide. Its threshold is fantastically high. No grass of oblivion will reach it.

"Pain" ["Bol"] is the title which the "Belarusfilm" cinematographers (script writers O. Belousov and S. Lukyanchikov, producer S. Lukyanchikov, and cameraman F. Kuchar) have given to their dramatized documentary [khudozhestvenno-publitsisticheskaya] film devoted to those who fought in Afghanistan. The film has been shown in Moscow, Minsk, and Sverdlovsk. There have even been discussions after the screenings. Opinions have been divided. Some viewers accepted everything unconditionally and thanked the authors for the work while others, by no means the minority, entered into debate with them.

The film is a searing one. Individual scenes do not shout but actually howl. A mother who in our day has lost two sons. Dazed with grief, exhausted by life, she still finds the strength to describe how some official sons of bitches (forgive me, reader) did not allow her to place on her son's grave the headstone she had chosen. "It's not authorized...." A widow swallowing her tears just like a child. Some 5 years have gone by yet still she does not believe it. A soldier whose wooden leg taps the concrete airfield as he walks. The zinc coffin draped in red calico sailing by in the arms of the villagers.... Life in the raw. Scenes which rend and at the same time cleanse the soul. Without retouching or words left unsaid. As is appropriate in the era of glasnost. But why is it sometimes hard not to feel annoyance verging on dissent?

...Father Viktor Radomyslskiy is relatively young. He does not have a true bass voice, but the prayers and extracts from the Gospels come quite clearly from the screen. At the end of the film there is a baptismal ceremony, which has been filmed in detail and with a special piety. Perhaps it is a kind of tribute to the year of the millenium of Russia's baptism, but what are boys who knew Qandahar and Jalalabad doing here? "How stupid you are," an opponent might say. "It is a case of charity, of compassion! They are so lacking in us now...." I agree. Only Father Radomyslskiy's love of his fellow men is painfully strange. He wonders aloud about "those never opened coffins" shipped from the fighting zone. That contradicts Christian tradition.... Although any adult can guess what is at issue here.

Recording human pain without pause, the camera seems to pause for breath only in the episodes with the priest. For instance, here are scenes where the holy father slowly and carefully puts on his numerous priest's robes. A visual lesson for students beginning seminary? An inserted "novella" from church customs? One way or another the question again arises: How can this little scene be combined with the Afghan problems, how does it fit into the context of the film? Of course, gunpowder and incense do really and tangibly exist within the coordinates of history, only separately. The film's attempt to merge them mechanically seemed to me implausible.

One more teaching of Father Radomyslskiy deserves fundamental attention. Afghanistan, he believes, has plunged us into universal sin. And we must think of repentance.

Enough. Surely the boys who went through Salang do not need to confess? In their overwhelming majority they want—no, they are eager for!—one thing: social justice. And they have the right to count on support. From society. From the state. From one and all. And we want elementary honesty and decency. Loyalty to the Soviet way of life with its patriotic and international realities. There is such a model, there is. Despite the temporary withdrawal of examinations in our history....

Mass repentance, the absolution of sins—what is simpler? This idea will undoubtedly please today's bureaucrat, for whom the "Afghans" are sometimes like a bone in the throat. And it is by no means hard to predict that alongside the country's most important concerns—problems of the economy and national and cultural building—it will very soon also acquire an "Afghan" factor.

In the course of the film Sasha, an internationalist servicemen who was left without an arm, says tiredly: "I no longer believe anyone...." Even if Sasha is alone in feeling that, we do not have the right to sleep in peace.

"We didn't send you there...." "Young but insolent: He jumps the line. He should be thrown out!" "So you've got tin legs.... So what!" "Idiot! Better you should have gone to prison than remained a cripple...." These tirades are not from the film but from real life, unfortunately. Each of us, if he has not heard these things, could hear them. The stagnant stench has not yet dispersed, alas.

The film was evidently conceived as a necessary talk about something supremely important—society's attitude toward the internationalist servicemen. But its authors have resolved this task in their own way and rather one-sidedly. They show only tears and grief. In addition there are monotonous landscapes, decayed buildings. An atmosphere of melancholy and oppressive sameness. You cannot help thinking about original sin. The priest seems to have arrived at the right time. Instead of a social echo for a tragic theme there is a well sung burial service.

Do not think I am against the presence of a priest in the film. But it is one thing to shake the bell which calls people to a meeting, for which we can only be grateful to Father Radomyslskiy, and another to rock the boat in which we all find ourselves. And rock it in such a way that water has to get in. Is this for the purposes of preventing the helmsman and passengers from sleeping?

The film's blunders lie above all in its philosophical and conceptual consideration of the Afghan drama. Not a word, not a scene, about the nature of the Afghan revolution and its strong and weak points. The authors do not touch on the international and military aspects of the conflict, failing to bring the viewer closer to an answer to the question of what and whom Soviet soldiers died for in the far off mountains. But however vague Father Radomyslskiy's moral admonitions, it is not difficult to discern in them words about how the sacrifice made in this war "may be assessed by our descendants as futile."

A considerable place in the film is taken up by the thoughts of the well known writer Ales Adamovich. How do they help us understand painful issues?

The scene is a sad meal. Former internationalist servicemen have come to visit the mothers whose sons will never return home. Flowers and a few short words. And a bitter song about the rowan tree. We will not discuss whether the song was appropriate or not. But in my view Adamovich's words in a voice over are hardly appropriate. What did the writer say during these minutes? Such meetings, he believes, merely offend the mother's feelings because the faces of mother and war are incompatible. The second part of his sentence is absolutely correct, but the first.... Dear Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, why do you take from these poor women what may be their last comfort—shedding pure tears in company? Will you forbid them to reach out to touch living boys so like their own flesh and blood? You do not have icons before you, but specific destinies. Throughout the ages sympathy and the ability to share another's grief have ennobled man. And so it will be!

Nor does Adamovich particularly accept the fact that internationalist servicemen visit schools, colleges, and enterprises. They should first be shown to psychiatrists and teachers.... And indeed there seems to be a moment in the film which confirms this humane concern. A young man who has served in Afghanistan and lived through a lot there describes in shock a long dream encumbered with nightmarish visions. He describes it with a degree of estrangement perhaps verging on a certain psychiatric deviation. This fragment is entirely on the conscience of the film's makers. But if it was needed to illustrate the writer's arguments, then the result is a dishonest game.

Other material helps to gain a deeper understanding of Ales Adamovich's views. The collective anthology "Breakthrough" ["Proryv"] by Soviet and foreign scientists who call for peace (Moscow, "Progress" publishing

house 1988) contains on page 172 the following words uttered by Adamovich: "Military-patriotic education—writers understand something by that. But tell them even today that in accordance with the nuclear age it would be more correct to say *a n t i m i l i t a r y - p a t r i o t i c* (the spacing out is in the book—V.D.) education—then look at how they look at you. At least many of them. With what perplexity, if not fright." Now we can understand what most worries Aleksandr Mikhaylovich when the "Afghans" address a particular audience. Talk of courage and heroism, of patriotic traditions, of internationalism, of combat experience in today's global thinking turns out to be superfluous. Moreover, they should engage in the absolute opposite.

Everything is back to square one. Again and again we encounter the desire to urge history forward, to outstrip it. A chronic disease that once manifested itself in calculations of the speedy implementation of world revolution. Either in the desire rapidly to achieve complete collectivization, which struck the peasantry with terrible destructive force. Or in the widely publicized assurances, closer to us in time: "The present generation will live under communism," "developed socialism," and so forth. The unrestrained, arrogant desire to mislead, to dupe Clio, the muse of history, without taking account of real opportunities and circumstances.

Let's return to the film "Pain." "The boys who are returning from Afghanistan," we hear, "can nonetheless be told one reassuring thing: that.... you are the soldiers of the last war, fundamentally the last war." That is the writer Ales Adamovich. Yes, we would all like to believe it was the last war. But not a single sober politician, if he follows (even today and in an entirely specific manner) the state of affairs in the world today can guarantee that.

Calling now for the immediate cessation of military-patriotic education in our country is a risky undertaking. One so wants to say: "Careful! Paid for in blood...." In Afghanistan itself, if our boys had been better prepared physically and morally there would have been fewer unbearable losses.

The film "Pain" leaves a complex impression. But what is done is done.

Iranian Aims in Backing Afghan Rebels Analyzed
PM0811112588 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 9

[Igor Belyayev "Observer's Opinion": "Islamic Games"]

[Text] Today I would like to ponder events around Afghanistan. Events in the last 6 months testify to almost imperceptible but highly substantial changes in the policies of those who would like to seriously influence the development of events in this neighboring country. And not just there, either....

Let me remind readers that as early as last spring Iran's official representatives declared their opposition to the Geneva agreements. Tehran politicians placed emphasis on three points at that time. The first was support for an Islamic revolution in Afghanistan and the transfer of Afghan counterrevolution centers from Pakistan to Iran, the second was the creation of an Islamic republic in Afghanistan. The third point of their "Afghan program" indirectly affected the Soviet Union. It concerned contacts between the Afghan counterrevolution and Soviet Muslims.

Secret talks were held in Ankara (Turkey) in May between U.S. General Perroots and emissaries of Ayatollah Montazeri, Khomeyni's official heir. They discussed two questions—U.S. supplies of weapons for the Afghan mujahidin ("fighters for the holy cause of Islam"). Let me remind readers that there are 2 million Afghan refugees in Iran. It is they who should provide a new base for struggle against the revolutionary regime in Kabul. It is for them that the U.S. weapons are meant....

The second item on the Ankara talks agenda concerned supplies of U.S. weapons to Iran, in other words the implementation of President Reagan's second "Iranian initiative." The first, as is well known, ended in the noisy scandal known as "Irangate."

Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq, who did a lot to galvanize the Afghan counterrevolution based in Pakistan, died in an air crash 17 August. The general, who was striving to set up a pro-Pakistan government in Kabul and to secure a solution of the far from simple Pakistani-Afghan problems to his own advantage, was increasingly hindering the Americans. By the spring of 1988, Afghanistan had already become their "back door" for a return to Iran, and this is why Washington heaved a sigh of relief....

On 18 July Iran announced its unconditional acceptance of UN Security Council Resolution No 598. There soon followed a cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq fronts, where the situation was steadily developing to Baghdad's advantage, and talks between the warring sides started.

I perceive nothing surprising in these actions by Iran. Having failed in the export of Islamic revolution to Iraq, where local Shi'ites demonstrated their patriotism and fought against the interventionists, Tehran opted for rerouting the "Islamic march" toward Afghanistan. As for the United States, having reestablished ties with pragmatists from Khomeyni's entourage, it intends to take advantage of this to secure its return to Iran. The Ankara meeting was the first important step along this path. The next one could be the release of U.S. hostages in Lebanon on the eve of the presidential elections....

People in Washington believe that there are grounds to expect success in the export of Islamic revolution to Afghanistan. They have in mind primarily G. Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party" and other "diehards" inside the country. The latter's presence can be felt with increasing frequency nowadays.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, events around Afghanistan are an indication that the U.S. "Islamic games" are becoming increasingly tangible. I find it absolutely impossible to forget the exchange of fire on the Afghan-Soviet border in the spring of last year. After all, these are the "contacts" with Soviet Muslims that Iran's representatives advocated. It therefore seems to me necessary to have a clear idea of the objective pursued by Tehran's pragmatists and those in the United States and West Europe who actively support them. With weapons and everything else....

Shevardnadze Meets India's Natwar Singh

PM0611184588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, received here 4 November K. Natwar Singh, India's minister of state for external relations, who is in Moscow on a short working visit.

In the course of their talk, which passed in a friendly and sincere atmosphere, they discussed urgent international issues of strengthening stability and defusing tensions in Asia and the world as a whole. Mutual readiness was stressed to work for the benefit of peace and security, for the earliest attainment of disarmament, the just settlement of regional conflicts. The sides agreed that those goals could be attained through the strengthening and developing of international cooperation on the basis of humanizing and democratizing state-to-state relations and the principles which found their reflection in the 1986 Delhi Declaration.

India's minister of state for external affairs rated highly the positive trends that have emerged in the cause of nuclear disarmament. It was emphasized that India favors the earliest possible achievement of an accord on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms.

The Indian side made a positive appraisal of the new foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet leadership aimed at strengthening peace and security and expanding international cooperation based on the principles of the new political thinking.

In turn, E.A. Shevardnadze expressed a high opinion of the constructive initiatives put forward by India with a view to ridding mankind of mass destruction weapons. The "Plan of Action To Establish World Order in Conditions of a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World" submitted by Rajiv Gandhi at the UN General Assembly Third Special Session on Disarmament in spring this year is a document of great international resonance.

In discussing the Afghan problem the sides reaffirmed their mutual interest in Afghanistan remaining a non-aligned, neutral, and friendly state to its neighbors. The two ministers stated readiness to facilitate in every way a search for ways of political settlement of the Cambodian conflict and voiced support for continuing internal Cambodian dialogue. A number of other international and regional problems of mutual interest were considered.

Also discussed were some issues of Soviet-Indian relations in light of the forthcoming visit to India by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which, according to both sides' conviction, would become a landmark in the history of Soviet-Indian relations.

Eduard Shevardnadze and K. Natwar Singh expressed satisfaction with the high level of Soviet-Indian cooperation in all spheres and reaffirmed their striving to promote its further development and perfection for the benefit of people in the two countries and in the interests of world peace and security.

In the evening, K. Natwar Singh left for home.

Rogachev Meets Indian Official

LD0411234388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1952 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov (TASS)—Today USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev held consultations with Kanwar Natwar Singh, India's minister of state for foreign affairs, who was in Moscow on a short working visit.

There was an in-depth and fruitful exchange of opinions on questions of Soviet-Indian relations and on a number of international problems of mutual interest.

Agreement Signed To Launch Indian Satellite

LD0411033388 Moscow TASS in English
0600 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi November 3 TASS—An agreement was signed here yesterday on launching of another Indian research satellite, IRS 1-B, with a Soviet booster rocket. It will be blasted off from the Baykonur cosmodrome in 1991. The launching will be made on a commercial basis.

On the Indian side, the agreement was signed by Professor U.R. Rao, chairman of the Indian Space Research Organization. Kocheril Raman Narayanan, minister of state for science and technology [name and title as received], who was present at the signing ceremony, called the close relations established between scientists of the two countries in space explorations, a graphic example of Indian-Soviet cooperation.

Thanks to this cooperation, said Professor U.R. Rao, India could develop its own research satellite IRS 1-A in a short period of time, which was fired also from the Soviet cosmodrome last march. It has been operating for seven months, transmitting to Earth information, very valuable for Indian specialists. In this period they received from the satellite nearly 60,000 good photographs which enable researchers and specialists in many spheres to assess more exactly natural wealth of India and to map out more rational ways for their utilization.

Rogachev Receives Bangladesh Ambassador

LD0611001488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1834 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Nov (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev today received Mir Mohammad Rezaul Karim, Bangladeshi ambassador in the USSR, who has handed over a message from Bangladesh President Hussain Mohammad Ershad to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

During the conversation, questions concerning the further development of Soviet-Bangladeshi relations were discussed.

Syrian Defense Minister Visits Air Force Base

PM0811105988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visiting the Soviet Airmen"]

[Text] General M. Talas, member of the Ba'th Party Command, deputy prime minister, deputy supreme commander in chief of the armed forces, and minister of defense of the Syrian Arab Republic, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, visited the Kubinka Air Force Garrison 2 November. The Syrian guest looked at the combat equipment and observed demonstration flights. Explanations were given by Army General I.M. Tretyak, USSR deputy defense minister and Air Defense Forces commander in chief, and Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister and Air Force commander in chief.

Need To Curb PLO 'Extremists' Examined

PM3110151388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 26 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Rami al-Sha'ir under rubric "Giving the Floor to a Palestinian Publicist": "Gulliver's Uprising"]

[Text] Addressing some students many years ago, the famous Palestinian poet Mu'in Bsisu compared the Israeli occupiers with the old wizard who cunningly climbed onto Sinbad the Sailor's neck and forced him to do his bidding by squeezing his throat with his legs. The image was striking and impressive. After all, the aim of

the invaders was and still is not only to deprive the Palestinians of their national, civil, and human rights but also to stifle them economically.

By destroying Arab enterprises and economic units, the occupiers are forcing tens of thousands of Palestinians to work at Israeli enterprises instead. The invaders continue to plunder local national resources—primarily water resources, which are particularly valuable under Near East conditions.

But we must give the poet's imagery its due. He expressed the pain and humiliation of his people, forced to wait an agonizingly long time for the hour when they can be rid of oppression.

Nevertheless, today, with the Palestinian uprising—or intifadah—on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip having continued for almost a year, the image of Sinbad wandering through the hills and valleys with the wizard on his back is obviously not so suitable anymore. If I were to choose an appropriate image from the gallery of images created by world literature, I would compare the Palestinian people with Gulliver.

Like Swift's hero, the Palestinian people are forced to struggle against the intrigues of Western powers that have undertaken a dishonest game of giants in the region, against the selfish, short-sighted steps taken by their own Lilliputians in politics, and against those on the other side of the barricades who have no wish to heed us or their own compatriots speaking the voice of reason. Today this struggle is far from over. The uprising is its real embodiment and clearest manifestation under the specific historical conditions. And, what is more, in all three directions—the outside world, internal Palestinian affairs, and the fight against militant Zionism.

When I talk about the attitude of the great powers to the Palestinian problem, I am aware that there are certain dynamics here and that considerable changes have taken place in their views in recent years. For example, Britain and France now hold far more flexible positions than before. The Soviet Union is demonstrating new thinking and a balanced approach to the interests of all sides involved in the conflict. But, unfortunately, the U.S. election battle has revealed no substantial changes in American politicians' views on the problems of our region.

In fact, quite the reverse is true—both presidential candidates are displaying a remarkable commitment to outmoded terms and political formulas. George Bush appeals to the initiatives of the Reagan administration—particularly the first term in government. In pursuit of his electorate's votes, Michael Dukakis has called for a broader "strategic alliance" with Israel and said that he will accept the formula of a peace settlement in the Near East only through direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Zionist state. This approach to the Palestinian

problem is a considerable deviation even from the stand taken by the present U.S. Administration. The latter does at least recognize the expediency of collective efforts.

As a result, the Palestinian national liberation movement is faced with the need to take firm, decisive steps—which have nothing in common, however, with extremism—in order to persuade the new U.S. Administration of the expediency of accepting the world community's view. I am not talking about the aims of the revolution or long-term strategic tasks but about the tasks of today and tomorrow, whose solution would take strict account of the present situation and—something that has not been the case hitherto—the interests of the other side.

Our national liberation movement does not yet have such a program for the immediate future. It is precisely for this reason that the link between the uprising and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—the PLO—has often been one-sided. But, even more important, the absence of such a program in the conditions of the mass movement nurtures not only truly democratic forces working in the interests of all Palestinian people but also radical, extremist groups whose activities only harm the common cause.

One of the leaders of the Palestinian revolution, Abu Iyad, once remarked in an interview he gave to a West German journal that, if there are extremists and ultra-right-wingers in Israel who belong to the "Likud" bloc, then the same kind of person can also be found in the Palestinian national liberation movement. The main thing is not to give them an opportunity to dictate their will to the entire movement and the people as a whole or set the tone in the most important actions, on the outcome and even the course of which the future of the Palestinians depends to a considerable extent.

Now, when the uprising is at its height and when the massive demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience have reached their peak, you read increasingly frequently in the Western press that the organizers of these actions are anyone but the leaders of the PLO. It is claimed, for example, that the real inspiration behind the uprising is Islamic fundamentalism, and pro-Khomeyni elements in particular, who are trying to create an Iranian-style Islamic republic in Palestine.

Despite the fact that pro-Khomeyni elements are indeed extremely active, it is nevertheless impossible to agree with this view. The number of armed, extremist actions under the flag of Islamic fundamentalism, typical of radical pro-Iranian groups, is insignificant in the general mass of anti-Israeli actions. They do not shape the face of the uprising. What is more, in the opinion of the leaders of the uprising, in some situations their activities have been so harmful as to compromise the entire movement.

During the intifadah, as in any national uprising, the leaders teach the masses and learn from them. The uprising itself has crystallized many forms and methods of struggle. And this has had a considerable impact on those once-radical forces which now admit that these forms and methods have a future and that they are far more effective from the standpoint of influencing the minds and hearts of people in the world and public opinion than the bursts of despair reflected in certain extremist acts.

Thanks to the feedback between the uprising and the PLO leadership, a considerable number of political steps have been taken which have undoubtedly strengthened the organization and enhanced its international authority. I am mainly thinking of the fact that, despite calls from radical forces in the Arab world, the PLO has placed the emphasis on unarmed struggle (although we have a right to any methods of struggle against the invaders), which has clearly shown, on the one hand, the scale and strength of the Palestinian national movement and, on the other, the true face of the Israeli occupation and the true face of the Zionist goonsquads.

We know that the international community and all democratic and peace-loving forces are sympathetically following the uprising, the demonstrations by young Palestinians in defense of their national rights, and the unequal struggle between students, whose chief weapon is the catapult, and the occupationist machine, equipped with the very latest combat technology. Our voice is being heard in Israel today not only by Communists and democrats, who have always urged an end to the occupation and a just solution to the Near East conflict, but also by those liberal forces which, in certain conditions and under the influence of official propaganda, have been on the side of the militant Zionists.

East Europe

IZVESTIYA on Katyn Memorial, 'Controversy'
PM0711100388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Taranov report: "A Tribute to Memory"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to build a memorial complex at Katyn (Smolensk Oblast), where several thousand POW's are buried.

This will be the first memorial to POW's, V. Ananov, chief inspector of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture Visual Arts and Museums Administration, told me.

A special feature of the complex will be the fact that it will be the first to immortalize the memory of Polish officers who, together with Soviet prisoners, were held at the concentration camp near Katyn. Together with them they were shot by the fascists in 1943 as our army approached. Incidentally, this was the subject of controversy for a long time. In the West it was claimed that the

Polish comrades were killed in accordance with an order from the NKVD leadership. I cannot act as an arbiter in this polemic, but I do know that experts were sent to Katyn in the past, excavations were carried out, and it was established that the Polish officers were shot with German guns.

Now the burial ground of those who perished has been tidied up. On a 50-by-20-meter stone-lined rectangular memorial slabs with inscriptions in Russian and Polish have been erected.

Is the precise number of those who perished at Katyn known? And their names?

So far the answer is no. However, the creation of a memorial complex will make it possible also to step up research and identification work.

Moscow Conference Discusses Polish Independence
*LD2610234588 Warsaw PAP in English 2243 GMT
26 Oct 88*

[By PAP correspondent Slawomir Popowski]

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 26—Polish and Soviet scientists are taking part in a two-day conference devoted to the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence which started in the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences here today.

The conference held under the motto "Great October and Poland's independence" was organized by the above mentioned institute, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences at CPSU CC. The Academy of Social Sciences at PUWP CC and the Centre for Polish Culture and Information in the USSR contributed to the meeting on the part of Poland.

While opening the debates, the head of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies, Professor Vladimir Volkov stressed among other things that the reconstruction of the Polish state after years of partitioning was this development which had changed the map of Europe.

"When we look back into the past, we have to restore the memory of the people who devoted their lives for the cause of revolution and liberation of Poland. Polish and Soviet revolutionaries were aware that they could win only if they united their efforts. The motto 'For your freedom and ours' was their programme" Volkov said.

"While going back to the history of the state under reconstruction it is necessary to dialectically perceive the origins of attainments and tragic developments in the life of Poland but it is also necessary to look into the future, to the unity of Soviet restructuring and Polish socialist renewal," the scholar went on to say.

Similar points were also highlighted in a speech delivered by Poland's Ambassador to the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf. "While referring to the past, we should remember everything which united us. That which united Polish and Soviet revolutionaries 70 years ago now has its reflection in everyday cooperation," Natorf said.

Postponement of Polish Roundtable Examined
*LD3010095588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 29 Oct 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Rostov, identified by screen caption] A rather unusual meeting was supposed to take place in Poland yesterday: a meeting between representatives of the government and leaders of opposition groupings, in particular the famous Walesa, who at one time headed Solidarity. The official title of the planned dialogue was the Roundtable Meeting of the Political Public. We did not get a report on the beginning of this dialogue, and today decided to contact our correspondent in Warsaw. [Video shows correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov, identified by caption]

[Rostov] What obstacles appeared on the path of the roundtable?

[Ulyanov] No obstacles, it would seem. The country's leadership has stated and continues to state: We are ready to discuss any problems without any preconditions. It is not important to us who comes from where, but it is important who comes with what, and we do not intend to build barricades where what is needed are bridges. There is room for everyone at the roundtable, including those from the former Solidarity trade union. But to judge from the latest reports by the Polish press agency, Lech Walesa, an electrician from the Gdansk shipbuilding works and former leader of Solidarity, decided at the last moment to put forward a number of preconditions. One was that he demanded space at the roundtable for such figures from the antisocialist opposition as Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik. At the same time it would seem that he is unable to understand that people who live on crumbs from the West do not represent the Polish public. [video shows crowds of reporters surrounding Walesa, group of people at table, shots of empty meeting place]

[Rostov] Why is the government so eager for a dialogue with the opposition? What's the reason for this?

[Ulyanov] What's the reason? First and foremost, it is the difficult economic situation in the country and the mistakes of the former government in internal policy. As a result the famous strikes sprang up in several towns in Poland. The government was obliged to resign. It was then, on 26 August, that the country's government proposed holding a roundtable discussion of Polish society with all the forces active in Poland, including the

opposition. The roundtable was postponed several times, by no fault of the government and leadership of the country. It is as yet difficult to say whether the roundtable will ever be held.

Article Views Reasons for Shipyard Closure
PM0811141588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent L. Toporkov article under the rubric "Pertinent Remarks": "How the Final Push Was Given"]

[Text] Warsaw—And so the long-awaited has actually happened in Poland: The government has decided to begin on 1 December the liquidation of Gdansk's V.I. Lenin Shipyard as unprofitable, loss-making, and a financial burden on Poland's national economy. The huge subsidies paid by the state to keep the shipyard afloat can no longer be considered in any way economically or socially normal in the conditions of economic reform and the more rigid demands made as regards this reform by the new government and especially by Minister of Industry M. Wilczek.

A bankrupt enterprise is an unusual phenomenon in socialist Poland. But people must get accustomed to it; that is what life dictates. Nowadays you hear now in one place, now in another, about the closure of enterprises which have found themselves in the red. They existed for decades without any special worries—their losses were covered from the state's pocket at the expense of others.

But all good things must come to an end. The economic reform—genuine rather than the halfhearted and indecisive one which until not so long ago was still unable to pluck up enough courage to cut the umbilical cord tying it to the outgoing administrative edict system—has made a tough demand: If you cannot conduct business in an economical fashion, you have only yourself to blame. Incidentally, think of how many poison arrows were shot in the past both in the West and inside the country, especially from the opposition camp, about the socialist state's role as the almighty guardian who did not heed economic laws. Does it make sense, they said, to maintain many enterprises and even sectors of industry on subsidies? What state can afford this?!

Of course it makes no sense. And so the time has come to conduct affairs in a new fashion, taking into account the demands of the economy and the market.

The widely known Gdansk shipyard became one of the first major enterprises to feel the effect of the firm hand of the new order. Of course, there is no escaping the sentimental feelings and regrets expressed by those who find its closure so lamentable. After all, this shipyard was a legend in the Republic: Ships built by the Gdansk shipbuilders plow the waters of oceans the world over,

and many hundreds of them were built on orders from the Soviet Union. The shipyard has written memorable pages in the history of socialist Poland.

Many people feel sad. Including, strange as it might seem, the Munich-based Radio Free Europe. But are its tears over the shipyard's closure sincere? Radio Free Europe claims that this decision by the government is mainly political, made in order to settle accounts with the cradle of "Solidarity" and do away with a "symbol." Even the word "provocation" has been used.

But the real culprits know who they are. The shipyard's decline actually started from the moment "Solidarity" emerged there and turned the economy and the industrial enterprises into an arena for political games and struggle against the socialist system. "Solidarity," with its deliberate, destructive activity in the form of mindless strikes and especially sit-ins, dealt the shipyard blows from which it could no longer recover. Prolonged, forced inactivity of equipment and of thousands of people, nonfulfillment of foreign customers' orders on schedule, extortion of higher wages, in other words of unearned money—is this the way to prosperity? Billions of zlotys were lost only because this was wished by the bosses of the legally operating but illegal "Solidarity," while they themselves were on the payroll of a foreign state. Nor are the ships a matter of pride, comparing the 24 vessels built in 1979 with only 9 ships built in 1987....

Give a final push to someone who is falling—this is the truly jesuitical principle adopted by those who reached for the "strike gun" at the slightest excuse instead of calling for hard work. It was not for nothing that "Solidarity" was dubbed the "party of strikes."

The ambitions of its gangleaders ended in calamity for the shipyard. The economic reform makes no provision at all for maintaining an insolvent enterprise on state funds. The shipyard is not the only one that is bankrupt (incidentally, its property will be transferred to other enterprises, production will be converted to the manufacture of output in greater market demand, and people will not be left unemployed).

The extremist wing of the opposition is also bankrupt, the wing that pursues disorganization of the Polish national economy even to the point of supporting all sorts of "sanctions" by the West. But it has failed to learn anything from this bitter lesson. The extremists are threatening to provoke more disorder in response to the government decision to liquidate the Gdansk shipyard.

Hungarian Leaders Greet Gorbachev, Ryzhkov
PM0711170388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Greetings to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, from Hungarian leaders on the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Esteemed comrades!

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidium, the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and the Hungarian people we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people friendly congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the formation of the world's first socialist state opened up a new era of social progress. The results of the Hungarian people's revolutionary struggle are also closely linked with the ideas of Great October and are inseparable from their influence on the formation of history.

The path covered by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU in the last 7 decades has proved the force of Lenin's ideas. Having overcome its age-old backwardness, your country has become a world leader and has tremendous economic, scientific, and cultural potential at its disposal. The struggle to create a just social system received a new boost with the proclamation of the course of restructuring.

The Hungarian public is following with increased attention and sympathy the processes under way in the Soviet Union and the implementation of Lenin's ideas. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference confirmed the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and advocated the democratization of the party and all society and the reform of the political system; its decisions are creating favorable prerequisites for further reform of economic management, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and boosting the people's standard of living. Soviet restructuring is enriching the entire world of socialism with new experience.

In their specific national conditions changes are taking place in the Soviet Union and Hungary which are determining society's development in the long term, and socialist society is being renewed. Mutual trust and understanding serve as a stable foundation for the development and improvement of our cooperation in the interests of resolving the topical political and economic tasks facing us. The harmony of our parties' way of thinking and acting and our interest in one another's successes help us to achieve this aim.

In the ties between our countries and peoples that encompass all spheres of life we attach particular significance to direct contacts between our countries' citizens and to the further development of tourism and cultural exchanges. These spheres of our cooperation are exceptionally important in better understanding one another.

We see with satisfaction that the connecting role of the Hungarian national minority living on Soviet territory is manifesting itself increasingly perceptibly in our bilateral relations.

The Great October Socialist Revolution's call for peace is consonant with the initiatives of present-day Soviet foreign policy aimed at improving international relations, creating a safer world, and jointly resolving the global problems facing mankind. The improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations and the East-West relations associated with this is also stimulating our country to active international actions. On the basis of the results achieved by Hungarian foreign policy we will continue to make our contribution to the struggle for peace and security.

On the day of this great holiday for the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind we wholeheartedly wish you and, through you, the entire Soviet people further successes in your selfless struggle for socialism, progress, and peace.

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers

Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council

Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Centers Established
LD0411232088 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT
4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, November 4 (MTI)—The University of Uzhgorod is to set up a Hungarian studies centre, whilst Budapest's Eotvos Lorand University is to have a Russian studies centre. The relevant agreement was signed in Moscow by Hungarian minister for culture, Tibor Czi-bere, and his Soviet partners. The sides also agreed to establish a Soviet-Hungarian Committee for Hungarian Studies, and a Hungarian-Soviet Committee for Russian Studies, to promote the two languages and cultures.

The Hungarian minister headed a delegation on an official visit to the Soviet Union from October 31 to November 4. He held talks with Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the State Committee for Education, and Vasily Zakharov, minister for culture.

Yugoslavia's Suvar Greets Gorbachev
PM0711162188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Greetings to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution under the general heading: "Congratulations to the Land of the Soviets"]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev!

On the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the October Revolution, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and myself personally, I send you, the CPSU Central Committee, Communists, and all the working people of the Soviet Union cordial congratulations and best wishes for new great achievements in socialist building and the successful implementation of the course of restructuring and the policy of new thinking.

On this occasion I want to stress that the principled foundation of LCY-CPSU and SFRY-USSR relations, jointly elaborated and confirmed in many documents, including the Yugoslav-Soviet Declaration of 1988, permits the further successful development of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation. The LCY is quite ready to continue to improve relations on these principles in the firm conviction that this accords with the interests of our countries' peoples, equitable international cooperation, peace, and social progress.

Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium

Call for Restoration of Yugoslav Monarchy Derided

PM0811090488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev "Rejoinder": "I Would Go for the Monarchy..."]

[Text] Belgrade—One finds a great many articles in the Western press regarding the difficulties that Yugoslavia has encountered and is endeavoring to escape from. There is no end to the commentaries and forecasts. As happens in such cases, there have also been many outside advisers. But what advice!...

The advice of our newfound "well-wisher" reads as follows: Yugoslavia needs to urgently... restore the monarchy in order for things to go well there. Incidentally, a suitable candidate is supposedly at hand: Prince Aleksandr Karandjordevic, who lives in London. It is easy to guess that the name of the "well-wisher" is the same: Karandjordevic.

Yes, according to a statement he made to LE MONDE, he is prepared to shoulder the burden of monarchy, selflessly, just to rescue his "beloved country" from "44 years of one-party dictatorship."

Belgrade's VECERNJE NOVOSTI, which reported this appearance of "otherworldly forces," added that the prince is acting according to the old saying: To dream is bliss.

Dreams are dreams, but the heir to the throne swore in his interview that he is not averse... to learning the language in order for his people to be able to understand

him. As you can see, while dreaming of finally making his mark in the world of high society, this inhabitant of the British capital has found himself in the world of scandal.

SED's Herrmann Awarded on Birthday

PM0211105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

["USSR Supreme Soviet Decree on the Award of the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples to Comrade Joachim Herrmann, Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] It has been resolved to award the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples to Comrade Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, for his services in strengthening fraternal friendship between the USSR and the GDR and on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The Kremlin, Moscow

28 October, 1988

West Europe

British Parliamentarian Visits Soviet Union

Interviewed Before Visit

PM0611182988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA own correspondent A. Krivopalov incorporating interview with David Howell, chairman of the UK House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, under the rubric "Interparliamentary Ties": "Guests From Westminster To Visit Us"]

[Text] London—"The meetings in Moscow are the ultimate aim of this business trip. The full committee will be meeting there. All 11 members of the House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs."

I was told this by David Howell, who, just before the departure of this group of parliamentarians on a trip round East European countries, received me in Westminster, choosing an hour in his schedule, which is probably organized down to the last minute. This Tory MP, a tall and smart middle-aged man who is head of one of the most important parliamentary committees, was very cordial.

Mr Howell's fellow MP's have gathered more than once this year to discuss various aspects of East-West relations from the viewpoint of disarmament tasks and problems. Now the committee members want to check all the information, proposals, and advice on the spot.

[Howell] We have split into three groups to save time. This is the only way to visit the GDR and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Bulgaria and Romania in this extremely limited time. In Moscow, where we will meet up during the final stage and will spend 5 days together, our program will be very full.

[Krivopalov] The visit by a delegation of both British Houses of Parliament to the USSR 2 years ago; the visit to Moscow by the House of Commons speaker, and certainly the summit talks between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Thatcher created a good basis for developing parliamentary ties. How did the idea of this trip arise, and what is its purpose?

[Howell] We have done a great deal of work to study what is happening in relations among the NATO countries. Now we want to get a better idea of the relations among the Warsaw Pact countries. We are interested in how the new thinking and restructuring are affecting Soviet diplomacy and how diplomacy is connected with disarmament and the USSR's defense policy.

[Krivopalov] You must have followed the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives particularly closely before your trip to the USSR?

[Howell] In the West people sometimes forget that the USSR is also a Pacific power. This enormous country stretches over European and Asian territory. And now, it seems to me, the Soviet Union is implementing new steps in its Far East policy. This is why the ideas expressed by M. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk have been greeted with great interest. We hope that the USSR will be drawn into the tremendous economic upsurge under way in Asia, where there is dynamic development in a number of countries. In particular, this may help stabilize relations between your country and Japan. New ties with the PRC to replace the old ones are not impossible.

[Krivopalov] What do you think the upcoming conversations in Moscow will be like?

[Howell] We want to find out the Soviet viewpoint on the next stages of disarmament in the sphere of both nuclear and conventional weapons. We are interested in prospects for transferring funds allocated for military purposes to spheres for developing peaceful industrial sectors, as proclaimed by the Soviet leadership. We intend to meet with your ministers, deputies, the military, and specialists. And, of course, impressions from meeting ordinary citizens, that is, the "man in the street," will be invaluable.

[Krivopalov] You mentioned the human factor in politics. But what does this trip mean to you personally—after all this is not your first visit to us?

[Howell] You will probably be surprised.... I have visited Moscow, but that was 30 years ago, when I was still studying at the university. I expect (Mr D. Howell smiles) I will find a few changes. The Soviet capital is one of the world's greatest cities. My generation has not forgotten World War II, when Britain and the USSR were allies. Then we went through a period of estrangement. The "iron curtain" came down, and so on. That is behind us. Another era is being established in the world. The creative genius of the USSR and all its peoples is very important for the global process serving people's happiness and the development of their well-being. Perhaps I am jumping the gun in my assessments, but on the threshold of my Moscow contacts I have the feeling that chances have increased for both sides to work out common approaches to a whole series of most important world problems.

[Krivopalov] What practical steps, Mr Chairman, will result from the committee's visits to the Soviet Union?

[Howell] When we have summed up the result of the analysis of relations in the Western bloc and in East Europe, we will compile a long report that will be presented to Parliament. When our conclusions are drawn together they will provide certain political lessons for forming British policy at the new stage in the development of international relations.

Received by Voss

PM081114588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthening Contacts"]

[Text] On 2 November A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, had a meeting with a delegation from the British Parliament House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs led by Committee Chairman D. Howell.

The discussion, which was frank and informal from the very outset, focused on an important subject—the responsibility of the two countries' parliamentarians for strengthening trust in international relations and for carefully preserving and increasing everything conducive to the world's move toward a new quality of lasting security and cooperation.

At the parliamentarians' request, they were given a detailed account of the present stage in the all-around renewal of Soviet society and of how the concept of new

political thinking put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress is being implemented in practice. The guests listened with particular attention to an account of preparations in the USSR for the cardinal political reform intended to ensure a transition to the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state.

R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Prospects for Cooperation With Norway Examined
LD0511071888 Moscow TASS in English 2302 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Soviet-Norwegian trade turnover will exceed 170 million roubles in 1988, Vsevolod Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, has told TASS. He led a Soviet delegation at the 15th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Norwegian commission on economic, industrial scientific and technical cooperation held in Oslo.

However, the level of trade turnover is obviously below the level of the two countries' potentialities, he pointed out. The USSR accounts for no more than 0.5 per cent in Norway's foreign trade, despite the fact that its volume went up by 32 per cent in 1988. This is why the problem of increasing the volume of reciprocal trade turnover is the most important one in the present-day bilateral relations. This can be achieved, for example, through the growth of reciprocal exports of finished products. The Soviet side will achieve it next year through the growth of the deliveries to Norway of timber, refrigerators and freezing chambers, sea containers, some types of metal-cutting tools and a tanker. The deliveries of Norwegian pulp-and-paper products and some types of production equipment will also grow.

However, trade exchange has its limits, Vorontsov continued, and the resources of this type of cooperation between the two countries have been practically exhausted. In his opinion, a possibility of Norway's participation in a comprehensive use of mineral resources of the Kola Peninsula opens up the best prospects of a further deepening of business relations. The realization of projects for the creation of a joint Soviet-Norwegian enterprise on the basis of the Apatit production amalgamation, as well as the participation of Norwegian firms in the processing of the titanium-magnetite and nepheline concentrates permit to perceptibly boost economic cooperation of the two countries.

Speaking about ways towards the expansion of business contacts, Vorontsov mentioned as well cooperation in fishing, the launching of several joint ventures for the industrial fish growing and the production of fishing tackle. The development of cooperation of Soviet enterprises with small and medium Norwegian firms and a more serious approach to the frontier trade can also bring good results.

Soviet-Portuguese TV Cooperation Agreement
OW0511101388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Nov 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program; V. Anikin video report from Portugal]

[Excerpts] Portuguese State Television recently marked its 30th anniversary. [passage omitted]

If the interests of Portuguese television in recent years were concentrated on purely local problems and issues in other Portuguese-speaking countries, now, when the country has joined the Common Market, these interests increasingly extend to Western Europe. Correspondents are now working in major European capitals, and the management of Portuguese television is thinking about opening an office in Moscow.

Increased cooperation between the television services of our countries was promoted by the recent visit to Lisbon of a USSR Gosteleradio [USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] delegation. A corresponding agreement was signed by Comrade Pryakhin, deputy chairman of Gosteleradio, and (Brasto Issiero), vice president of the Portuguese television administrative council. The agreement encompasses a variety of aspects, from an exchange of programs to mutual technical cooperation and exchange of information. [video shows signing ceremony]

Turkish Moves Toward Democracy Assessed
PM0111151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov report: "Difficult Path to Democracy"]

[Text] Ankara—The trial of Turkish communist leaders H. Kutlu and N. Sargin and their comrades is into its 5th month in Ankara. Dozens of journalists, writers, and publicists charged with spreading communist propaganda continue to appear regularly before the court. A teacher in Istanbul who read her children some verses by the outstanding Turkish poet and communist Nazim Hikmet was not only fired but also taken to court. She runs the risk of 6 years' imprisonment. The author of a journal article entitled "Marxism and the Women's Question" has been put behind bars. And, for instance, a hairdresser in Diyarbakir was unwise enough to hang portraits of Marx and Lenin in his shop. That cost him 18 months in prison.

I could cite quite a few more facts like that. The trials of the leftwing political organization Dev Yol, a group of staffers of the journal TOPLUMSAL KURTULUS ("SOCIAL LIBERATION"), and the Socialist Party are in progress even now. The trials of the Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions of Turkey (DISK) and the Society of Turkish Peace Supporters have been suspended but not halted.

At the same time there are signs of a certain democratization in Turkey which in the political sphere is a reflection of the measures to liberalize the country's economy. The restrictions on participation in political life which affected such well known figures as former Prime Ministers S. Demirel and B. Ecevit and were imposed after the 1980 coup were lifted last fall after a referendum. Last November parliamentary elections were held which were the freest from military interference since 1980.

The wind of change can be felt in the press here. In the past 1-2 years several journals of a left-wing democratic nature have appeared and have been boldly raising topics not previously discussed—the Kurdish problem, the revival of Islamic fundamentalism, the need to legalize the Communist Party....

The country is slowly but quite surely switching from the somewhat gloomy stability of the military dictatorship to the more dynamic and more reliable stability of a West European-type parliamentary democracy. Ultimately this is one of the main political conditions of the success of the course of economic liberalization begun by the Motherland Party government headed by T. Ozal, even if that party does not manage to retain power.

The fact is that public opinion polls show a steady decline in its popularity. And no wonder. In addition to rapid economic development there is also rampant inflation, a rise in prices, and, consequently, a steady fall in working people's living standard. As a result the party is now supported by no more than one-fourth of the voters, whereas at the 1983 and 1987 elections it polled 44 percent and 36 percent of the votes respectively. This sharp decline in its popularity may necessitate early parliamentary elections (the next elections are due in 1992). In that event the Social Democratic People's Party, the main opposition party, could come to power.

But, I repeat, the economic liberalization—that is, the country's integration into the international capitalist market, the change of emphasis in development from the state sector to the private sector, the encouragement of sectors mainly oriented toward export, and the comprehensive attraction of foreign capital—has gone so far that there seems to be no way back. That is the view of many economists here. And, in their opinion, any other government will have to follow largely the same economic course, albeit in a somewhat modified form. The group most interested in that is the Turkish big bourgeoisie, or rather that now significant section of it which is oriented toward the foreign market and has close ties with international financial capital. In fact the country already permits a political pluralism which would not question the principle that: "What is good for the holding companies (Turkish big capital's trade and industrial associations) is good for Turkey, and the majority of the voters must be convinced of that."

In addition, in its search for foreign markets not protected by quotas and duties from cheap Turkish exports (above all light industry goods, sewn goods, and textiles) Turkey has officially applied for full membership of the EEC, which imposes on the candidate certain obligations, including that of bringing its legislative, judicial, and overall domestic political system into line with general European norms.

Against this political and economic background there is a gradual restoration of bourgeois democratic freedoms in progress. A serious test of that was provided by the voluntary return home last November of H. Kutlu and N. Sargin, leaders of the previously formed united Turkish Communist Party (prior to the unification H. Kutlu was general secretary of the Central Committee of the underground and emigre Turkish Communist Party and N. Sargin headed the Turkish Labor Party, which was legal until the 1980 coup). On the eve of this courageous step the Turkish Communists stated that they will strive for the legalization of the united Communist Party so as to defend working people's interests by democratic methods. The Turkish authorities' reaction was almost one of hysteria: H. Kutlu and N. Sargin were arrested at the airport and taken in handcuffs to the security services building, where they were subjected to intensive interrogations and torture for 18 days.

It took several months to draw up the indictment. Apart from the standard nonsense about communism the indictment is based on two articles of the existing Turkish legal code—articles 141 and 142—which categorically prohibit communist activity and the propaganda of scientific socialism in the country. The trial began in June in an atmosphere of extraordinary security measures. C. Lederman, a French senator and lawyer and representative of the French Communist Party, attended the trial as a foreign observer and characterized the Turkish authorities' conduct in the following way: "They have used the bogey of anticommunism [as published] for so long and on the slightest pretext that they were terrified themselves when they came face to face with real Communists."

The country's democratic circles note that the authorities have made a fool of themselves. On the one hand the country has an archaic body of laws inherited from the darkest days of the cold war, and on the other the trial of the Turkish Communists is a serious blow to the authorities' attempts to create a semblance of respectability in the eyes of international and, primarily, European public opinion.

The trial of the Communists has also raised the question of the present balance of domestic political forces. For example, the Social Democrats advocate a universal amnesty for political prisoners and the full restoration of democratic norms. All the opposition parties do not object in principle to the legalization of the Communist Party. Observers here believe that Prime Minister T. Ozal himself tends toward that opinion. Among the

circles close to the prime minister there is a growing conviction that the lifting of the ban on the activity within the country of the Communist Party and other left-wing organizations will make it possible not only to demonstrate that democracy has been fully restored in Turkey but also to channel all the currents of domestic political life into the mainstream of legality, thereby preventing the possibility of a return to the instability characteristic of Turkey in the late seventies. Legalization is opposed by President K. Evren, the leader of the 1980 coup, the command of the Armed Forces, the security service, and the right-wing religious conservative wing in the ruling party itself.

For decades the Turkish people have been intensively indoctrinated in a spirit of anticommunism and Marxism has been turned into a bogey and a term of abuse. I was told that an illiterate peasant woman, remonstrating with an unduly fractious child, may exclaim in a fit of temper: "You little communist." But now in court H. Kutlu and N. Sargin are speaking openly and with dignity about their views and their words are being printed in the press here. Against the background of broad international solidarity with the Turkish Communists the uproar about the trial is subsiding. There is increasing pressure from the public at large aimed at securing a revision of the aforementioned articles of the criminal code. On the instructions of the minister of justice a special legal commission is already working on this question.

Under the banner of solidarity with the Turkish Communists' struggle for democracy a dialogue is gradually being established among the various, sometimes hostile detachments of the left-wing movement, there is a visible trend toward the elimination of factionalism and cliquishness within the movement, and joint positions are being elaborated. In brief, the problem of legalizing the Communist Party has become a firm part of the country's internal political life.

Another point should be made. The transition toward an export-led model of capitalist development is accompanied by a considerable adjustment of the foreign policy course. There has been a thaw in Turkish-Greek relations and Turkey's relations with Bulgaria and Syria have been placed on the path of normalization. The Turkish Government played a constructive role in ending the hostilities between its eastern neighbors, Iraq and Iran, and it firmly supports the just cause of the Palestinian Arab people. Positive moves are expected in the solution of the Cyprus problem.

We are also witnessing interest on the part of the country's business circles in broadening trade and economic partnership with its northern neighbor, the Soviet Union. Turkish firms are building social and cultural facilities in our country, there is the prospect of an increase in supplies of Turkish goods in payment for imported Soviet gas, and joint trade, tourist, transport,

and production companies are being set up. This interest is having an increasing effect on the mood of political circles and is establishing a firm foundation for good-neighborliness.

Unfortunately, democratic circles here note, the course of change within the country is lagging considerably behind the important moves in foreign policy. Nevertheless, influential circles in Turkey believe that the positive changes in the world and the tendency toward the democratization of international relations are creating an atmosphere conducive to removing cold war stereotypes even in the domestic policy of those countries which cultivated them for so long. Presumably the ascendant development of Soviet-Turkish relations will help that process.

Latin America & Caribbean

USSR To Increase Military Aid to Nicaragua

LD0511113488 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1030 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Havana, Nov 5 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union will increase its economic and military aid to Nicaragua, new Soviet Ambassador in Managua Valeriy Nikola-yenko told a press conference last night.

He stressed, however, that the Soviet Union has no intention of setting up military bases in Nicaragua, adding that Moscow sells to Managua only defensive weapons.

The Soviet ambassador's statement came after a series of reports alleging that Moscow would reduce its economic aid to Managua and distance itself from "another Cuba" as it no longer needed it either strategically or tactically.

Western commentators even claimed that new negotiations between Washington and Moscow are building detente on the strict observance of "interest zones" by both military powers. This would also include Nicaragua as it is located in "Washington's yard."

The Soviet ambassador said that Moscow is sticking to its proposal to Washington to start negotiations on limiting arms sales to the countries of the region, without specifying whether it covered only the Central American or the Caribbean region as well. The U.S. Administration has never responded to the initiative, said Nikola-yenko.

Komplektov Meets With Nicaragua's Tinoco

PM3110113588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 25 October V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, met with V.H. Tinoco, Nicaraguan deputy foreign minister, who is paying a working visit to

the Soviet Union. During the talks there was a detailed exchange of opinions on the situation prevailing in Central America, the prospects for the process of a political settlement in that region, and some questions of bilateral relations. A luncheon was given in V.H. Tinoco's honor.

E. Castillo, Nicaraguan ambassador to the USSR, was present at the talks and the luncheon.

Nicaraguan Parliament Discusses Draft Law
*LD0511001488 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT
4 Nov 88*

[Text] Managua October 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

Nicaragua's National Assembly (parliament) started discussing last Thursday a draft law on the protection of citizens' rights. The draft, which was submitted by the president, reflects provisions which will ensure protection for the constitutional rights and freedoms of Nicaraguan citizens from any actions contravening the main law of the republic.

The draft law, in particular, provides for sanctions against officials and private persons, state and non-state agencies if their actions illegally restrict personal freedom of any Nicaraguan or infringe on other rights. Nicaraguan's Constitution already incorporates articles which protect the personal rights of Nicaraguans. However, the country does not have a special law to define in detail the mechanism for observing human rights.

The new law, according to the local press, is vital for strengthening the democratic process in Nicaragua, started by the Sandinist people's revolution in 1979.

Human rights is a question which was often and without grounds used by the Washington administration and local right-wing opposition, which obediently toes its line, as an instrument of pressure on the Sandinist government. The main argument advanced by the opponents of the revolution is the resolute actions by the Nicaraguan authorities aimed at cutting short any counterrevolutionary sorties by political and armed opposition. These actions are presented by the United States as "the lack of political freedoms in Nicaragua." At the same time the reaction seems to forget that people gained freedom and democracy in the Sandinist revolution, which attached primary importance to ensuring people's rights.

The 1987 constitution consolidated the provision on unswerving observance of citizens' rights in the republic. The future law will become one of the guarantees of freedom of the Nicaraguan people.

CPSU's Yakovlev Confers With Cuba's Risquet
*PM0211092188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met on 28 October with J. Risquet, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) Central Committee. The conversation, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and full mutual understanding, examined topical questions concerning Soviet-Cuban relations and cooperation between the USSR and Cuba in the world arena. The interlocutors stated the readiness of their parties to continue efforts to strengthen international security and search for just solutions to regional conflicts.

The following took part in the conversation: J. Camacho, member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and Cuban ambassador to the USSR; V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and Yu.V. Petrov, USSR ambassador to Cuba.

Katushev Receives Cuban Economic Official
*LD2910213488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1940 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] Moscow, 28 Oct (TASS)—There was a meeting today in Moscow between Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, and E. Melen-dez Bachs, chairman of Cuba's State Committee for Economic Cooperation. They discussed matters of deepening bilateral economic cooperation and relevant documents were signed.

Chilean Party Urges Strikes for Pinochet Ouster
*PY2210213888 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2100 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Text] In a document released in Santiago last night, the PCCh called on the people to force Pinochet to resign by stating a civic strike. The PCCh document affirms that the regrouping of the dictator's forces must be impeded, and warns about maneuvers by the High Military Command. It reiterates the party's opinion that 5 October marked a great democratic and popular victory, in which the turnout of the masses from the shantytowns and the workers centers favored the no-vote.

The PCCh played an important role and contributed to thwarting the fraud that was prepared and that could not be consummated by the dictator. The fraud was prevented thanks to the attentive surveillance by the masses and the watchful eyes of the world focused on Chile. In the document that was made public last night, it is noted that the attempts at provocation orchestrated from the centers of power were smashed, and it is affirmed that the plebiscite resulted in a new situation in the country.

The PCCh considers positive the demands raised by the parties making up the coalition for the no-vote, which include the ouster of Pinochet, a complete reform of the 1980 Constitution, the election of a Congress with constituent powers, the derogation of Article 8, and so on. However, the PCCh stresses that without mass rallies, demands by other sectors of society, a civic strike, and other moves, it will be impossible to oust the dictator and open the way for negotiations with the Armed Forces to ensure the country's democratization.

In the document the PCCh praises the release of socialist leader Clodomiro Almeyda and stresses the responsibility now befalling the United Left [IU] as an instrument for unified action and mobilization of the popular masses. The document demands the immediate release of all political prisoners, the suspension of the prosecution of journalists and other democrats, the end of the internal exile of CUT [Central Labor Union] leaders, and the reinstatement of dismissed workers and students expelled from educational institutions. In addition, it makes more fundamental demands, such as the dictator's departure and the revocation of the Constitution now in force.

A rally has now been called by the IU for Sunday, 23 October, in General Velasquez, to debate what seems to be the natural corollary of the result of the 5 October plebiscite: The resignation of the defeated general. On 23 October the IU will celebrate the release of its president, Clodomiro Almeyda. In turn, the former foreign minister under the Allende government called on the people to redouble the struggle until democracy is restored. The press is asking whether the Pinochet regime will again sanction Clodomiro Almeyda for making political statements in public.

At the General Velasquez rally, the forces of the Chilean left will also commemorate the 50th anniversary of the victory of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, the standardbearer of

the Popular Front, in October 1938. This historical date takes on greater significance now, at a time when the illegitimate regime of Augusto Pinochet continues to sell out the national wealth. CORFO [Production Development Corporation] was decisive in increasing wealth and was one of the main creations of the democratically elected government of Pedro Aguirre Cerda a half century ago.

Soviet Plane To Land on Chilean Antarctic Base
PY0811004688 Santiago Domestic Service
in Spanish 2200 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Excerpt] On Tuesday, 8 November, for the first time in the history of the Antarctic, a Soviet aircraft transporting eight scientists will land at Chile's Teniente Marx Air Force Base.

The aircraft will then proceed to the Soviet base on King George Island, in the South Shetland Islands. The Chilean base is also located on King George Island.

The air operation will be carried out with prior authorization granted by the Chilean Government and the Air Force high command that has jurisdiction over the Teniente Marx base, which is subordinate to the 4th Air Brigade, headquartered in Punta Arenas.

The Soviet aircraft is currently in Buenos Aires, from where it will fly to Rio Gallegos Airport, Argentina. It will refuel there and leave for the Antarctic, transporting the scientists and valuable instruments for research purposes.

This information was disclosed by the commander in chief of the 4th Air Brigade, General Rene Alzerreca de Cortazar, who also disclosed that arrangements are being made for a third polar expedition, with the purpose of extending national sovereignty beyond parallel 80. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Russian Supreme Soviet To Convene 10 November *LD0711220988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian* 2050 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] The 9th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation will take place on 10 November. The registration of the deputies will begin on 8 November in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

Armenian Rally Urges Investigation of 'Pogroms' *AU0711134588 Paris AFP in English 1329 GMT* 7 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Nov 7 (AFP)—Several hundred thousand Armenians held a rally in the Armenian capital Yerevan on Monday calling for a proper investigation of anti-Armenian pogroms as the Kremlin observed the 71st anniversary of the 1917 Russian revolution in traditional style.

Anti-Armenian riots in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait claimed 32 lives, including 26 Armenians, in February, according to an official count.

"There has never been such a parade (in the Armenian capital) on a November 7," Ambartsum Galstyan, one of the 11 members of the Karabakh Committee which has spearheaded Armenian nationalist protests since February said.

Demonstrators in mourning and carrying black banners marched from Opera Square to Lenin Square where official anniversary celebrations, including a military parade and a march-past of "several hundred workers and Komsomols" (Communist Youth members), had been held earlier, sources added.

The unofficial demonstration was led by Karabakh Committee leaders.

Local television interrupted the broadcast from Lenin Square at the arrival of the demonstrators switching to a report from ceremonies in Moscow's Red Square.

Banners carried by the demonstrators read: "Stop the Sumgait trial farce" and "Try the real culprits."

The trial of three Azerbaijanis accused of the murder of seven Armenians was suspended here last week when the lawyer of the Armenian bereaved called for nine people, mostly Sumgait officials, to be heard as witnesses.

The court has agreed to hear one witness, and the trial will now resume on Thursday.

In a mass meeting on Saturday, the Karabakh Committee said Armenian youth should help build houses for Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan in neighbouring Nagorno-Karabakh.

Mr. Galastian said local television announced on Sunday that the Communist Youth organization had approved the idea adding that several groups were already packing.

Moscow has turned down calls by Armenian nationalists that the Armenian-dominated autonomous region which has been administered by Azerbaijan since the early 1920s be transferred to Armenia.

Armenian MPs in Nagorno-Karabakh renewed a vote for Armenia on Friday and called for the lifting of a curfew clamped down on September 21. [passage omitted]

Deputies Address Supreme Soviet Sessions

AUCCTU's Shalayev

PM0211113588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 2-3

["Speech by Deputy S.A. Shalayev, Chairman of the AUCCTU," at the 27 October morning joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! First of all, I believe I should report that trade unions at all levels have been directly participating in the plan's elaboration. Our proposals boiled down to ensuring that material and labor resources were mobilized as fully as possible in order to accelerate the resolution of the most acute social problems and bring about the practical implementation of the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on the social reorientation of the economy on the basis of the deepening of the economic reform, production intensification, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the strengthening of technological and labor discipline.

to that end we believe it necessary:

to envisage growth for national income and the population's real income in next year's plan that would make it possible to overcome the lag permitted in these areas in the first years of the 5-year plan;

to increase the proportion of national income channeled into consumption, while at the same time increasing capital investment in sociocultural construction;

to plan higher growth rates for consumer items (Group "B"), and set firm state targets for the production and delivery to the trade network of goods at comparatively cheap prices for children, teenagers, and the elderly;

to fully implement the program for centralized social measures outlined for the 4th year of the 5-year plan;

and to implement in 1989 a number of major new measures aimed at improving working conditions and labor protection.

The draft plan submitted at the USSR Supreme Soviet session takes these proposals as fully as possible into account.

One cannot fail to note that even in the difficult position with financial and material resources, and even with the financial deficit reported by Yu.D. Maslyukov and B.I. Gostev, the state has deemed it necessary to seek out and channel toward social needs next year R27 billion more than in this year's plan and R15.8 billion more than laid down in the the 5-year plan for 1989. Out of this amount considerable appropriations are to be additionally channeled into public education and culture, health care, social insurance, and social welfare.

The state's material aid to families with children is increasing. A way has been found to allocate 13 million square meters of housing above the level laid down for construction in the 5-year plan. This will make it possible to improve housing conditions for an additional 1 million people. It is planned to build more schools, preschool institutions, children's homes, health centers, and other sociocultural and leisure projects than were planned in the 5-year plan.

While supporting this plan for next year's economic and social development, the trade unions are fully aware of its great intensity and the need (and this applies to trade unions, economic organs, and labor collectives) to adopt additional measures aimed at improving production efficiency and stepping up the policy of saving all kinds of resources—that is, measures without which the implementation of the extensive social program outlined for the 4th year of the 5-year plan will be extremely difficult.

The transfer from next year onward of all enterprises in production sectors to complete economic accountability and self-financing with a simultaneous considerable reduction in the proportion of state orders is bound up with many difficulties and problems. These are linked above all with material and technical support for production plans. We all feel that the transition from vertical (administrative) to horizontal (economic) direct ties in supply and production-sharing shipments under the conditions of the still-low level of wholesale trade is proceeding with difficulty. Unilateral refusals to conclude contracts, particularly for the kinds of output which are supposed to be produced in greater quantities than this year, violations of production sharing, and the imposition of exorbitant prices for output are becoming widespread. Like you, esteemed deputies, I could cite many examples of this.

That is why, at this crucial time for the restructuring of the entire economic mechanism, labor collectives are expecting more resolute and effective help from sectorial ministries, the USSR Gosnab, the USSR State Committee on Prices, and the USSR State Board of Arbitration in organizing real and reliable supplies in 1989. There is really a great need for this at present.

Now for questions linked with the adoption by labor collectives of intensive plans—higher than the targets for 1989 laid down under the 5-year plan—for the production of material resources that are in short supply. The experience of the work of many enterprises in the metallurgical, fuel, and energy complexes shows that the establishment of special incentives for boosting production of raw and other materials is an effective means of achieving this end.

Thus ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy enterprises, fulfilling their higher plan pledges, produced in the 1st 9 months of this year an additional 770,000 tonnes of finished rolled metal, hundreds of thousands of tonnes of cast iron and steel, and more nonferrous metals by making better use of equipment and raw materials. Enterprises earned R838 million in above-plan profits, of which more than R650 million were paid into economic incentive funds and channeled into the construction of housing, kindergartens, schools, and other sociocultural and leisure projects. Many mines, oilfields, and gas fields are working to fulfill increased plans this year.

The draft plan for next year envisages that sectors extracting coal, oil, and gas and producing metals and cement will retain these special incentive conditions. We support this measure as being in line with the interests of both the state and labor collectives. In our opinion, it would be worthwhile extending it to enterprises producing raw and other materials needed to increase output of consumer goods in short supply, particularly at chemical and petrochemical enterprises (for the additional production of paints and varnishes, chemical fibers and yarns, polyurethane foam, plastics, synthetic leather, and other materials which have to be bought from abroad at exorbitant prices).

Resource-saving is a most important factor in ensuring that plans are more balanced and a decisive source for boosting material production and improving its efficiency. This section of the draft state plan for economic and social development for next year envisages major targets. But the question arises of how to implement them at a time when the indicators for reducing the material-intensiveness of social production and the metal- and energy-intensiveness of national income are purely an accounting measure and are not brought to the attention of enterprises by many ministries (apart from the firm quotas on material resources). This has led to a situation whereby, according to figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics, in the first half of this year savings of rolled ferrous metals, cement, and timber were achieved by only one enterprise in three; savings in heat were achieved by one enterprise in two; and savings in motor fuel by just one in four enterprises. In other words, the new economic mechanism, particularly in the first model of economic accountability, is not yet creating greater interest on the part of enterprises and their collectives in cutting material expenditure and in making better use of scientific achievements to this end.

Judge for yourselves, comrades: Bonuses for savings last year not only did not increase, but even fell—amounting to just 20 kopeks per worker per month.

We cannot fail to notice that even in the capitalist countries the question of resource-saving in both the state and private sectors is under state control and is administered with the help of economic and state levers of influence. Directives and preferential tax systems are widely used to stimulate resource-saving.

In our opinion, our plans too should set national economic complexes, ministries, and departments—and, through them, enterprises and associations—normatives for material-, metal-, and energy-intensiveness and concomitant normatives for the efficient use of the most important types of material resources, if only in the form of control figures, thereby linking resource-saving indicators to plan headings at all levels. Our country too should develop an effective preferential tax system geared to resource-saving and targeted against mismanagement and waste. This is needed in the interests of our people and in the interests of accelerating the resolution of urgent social tasks. After all, a reduction in material expenditure of just 1 kopek per ruble of social product will make it possible to earn around R15 billion in additional national income growth, of which more than R10 billion could be channeled into social needs.

We have enormous reserves in this area. After all, losses and unproductive spending in the material production sphere have almost doubled over the last 7 years, amounting to R24 billion last year—of which around R1.5 billion was accounted for by production of goods not in demand, and more than R9 billion by losses owing to nonutilization of various waste products. That is why an active and uncompromising battle against mismanagement and the waste of material assets created by the people's labor is now at the forefront in labor collectives, their trade union organizations, the material and technical supply system, and our entire society.

I cannot fail to dwell on questions of saturating the market with consumer goods. The USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosnab have done considerable work in seeking resources to ensure that production of nonfood goods in the 1989 plan is increased by 7.5 percent in comparison with this year's plan. However, this work should not, in our opinion, be thought of as completed either centrally or locally.

According to figures from the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Market Forces, this September more than half of the RSFSR cities covered in a wide survey had no refrigerators, washing machines, or vacuum cleaners on sale. Tula, Bryansk, Ulan-Ude, Rostov-na-Donu and Barnaul did not even have any electric irons for sale, and there were no electric kettles in Ufa, Vladimir, Lipetsk, Kaliningrad, Tambov, and a whole string of other cities. In many cities and rural areas not even the simplest furniture is to be had.

Is it really impossible to organize production of these goods at existing enterprises in the regions and to eliminate shortages that are decried by all?

Nor can one agree with the way in which many enterprises specializing in the production of domestic equipment that is in short supply utilize their capacities. The basic production unit at the "Podolskshveymash" Association operates with a shift coefficient of 1.24, despite the fact that USSR Ministry of Trade orders for sewing machines are 40 percent unsatisfied and it has become virtually impossible to buy them freely without great trouble. Despite the chronic shortage of small washing machines, they are produced on only a two-shift basis at specialized enterprises in Riga, Krasnoyarsk, Votkinsk, and a whole string of other cities. Enterprises producing domestic refrigerators in Ussuriysk and Yuryuzan, and others making electric blenders and vacuum cleaners in Alma-Ata, Gorkiy, Omsk, Serpukhov, and so forth work in the same way.

Of course, the organization of multishift work is bound up with well known difficulties and problems. But since such a serious situation has arisen with goods, labor collectives, ministries, soviet organs, and trade unions should use this reserve for increasing shift coefficients, give collectives an interest in producing goods—relying on the major material incentives to be established by the government as of next year for ensuring above-plan production—and, finally, remove the shortages of many of these goods for the sake of the interests of Soviet people and our entire society. Ministries should bear a special responsibility for resolving this task.

I would like to stress that expansion of the economic independence of enterprises and associations under the conditions of the Law on the State Enterprise does not release ministers and department leaders from their responsibility for supplying our people with the goods that their sectors and enterprises should be supplying. They must be bolder in using opportunities for boosting output of necessities by converting loss-making enterprises and production facilities manufacturing output that is not in demand.

Soviet people continue to be particularly concerned about the situation with regard to goods for children, young people, and the elderly. The country's government, as reported by Yu.D. Maslyukov, has taken a number of major measures in the last few months to rectify the situation with regard to these goods. However, these measures, despite their indisputable effectiveness, will still not resolve the problem of shortages of cheap goods for children, teenagers, and pensioners. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 24 April 1986 resolution instructed the USSR Ministry of Light Industry in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Trade to plan production of the aforesaid goods both in physical terms and in terms of main price groups.

Unfortunately, the state orders for the USSR Ministry of Light Industry for the production of goods for children, young people, and the elderly in 1989 lack any price groups for these goods. And the AUCCTU proposals in this area were not supported. Thus, for elderly persons state orders set footwear production at 1 million pairs and sewn goods production at R1 million, without any breakdown into price groups, including groups of cheaper goods. Production of sewn goods for children is set at R1 million in the same way. I think there is no need to comment on the possible consequences of this.

This year, for instance, despite more categorical targets, production of more than half of the range of basic children's goods, above all cheap goods—woolen dresses costing up to R11, shoes and slippers costing up to R6, lined school boots costing up to R11, boys' and girls' footwear costing up to R20, woolen overcoats costing up to R25, and others—has fallen. That is, the process of squeezing out cheap goods is continuing.

How can this process be stopped? What should be the state orders for 1989 for the production of cheap goods for children, young people, and the elderly? These questions, in our opinion, merit committed discussion at our session, at the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, and at the USSR Gosplan. After all, it is a question of the needs of more than half of our country's population—a question which merits particular concern from the state and all of society.

While talking about saturating the market with consumer goods and developing the sphere of paid services to the population, we cannot fail to take account of the growing contribution from the cooperative sector and the features which it brings to this work.

On the whole, supporting the development of the cooperative system and the full satisfaction of the population's consumer demand in our people's interests, we advocate the faster and more resolute streamlining of the principles of price formation for the output cooperatives produce, as well as of the tax system, and we also favor strict controls in this area on the part of the USSR State Committee on Prices and its local organs, local soviets, and the public.

After all, V.I. Lenin once warned that if free trade is allowed when there is a shortage of products, it will give rise to rabid speculation and prices will soar to huge levels beyond the reach of the masses. The current lack of controls in setting cooperative prices is convincing confirmation of this and is impermissible, since it discredits the very idea of the socialist cooperative system.

Comrade deputies! Examining the draft state plan for 1989, the AUCCTU Presidium has at the same time defined measures for trade union participation in the implementation of the economic and social program outlined in the plan. We proceed on the basis that the implementation of this thoroughly intensive plan

requires a more considerable contribution from the trade unions, particularly in the assimilation by labor collectives of new economic management methods, in the deepening of intraproduction economic accountability, in the introduction of lease relations and other progressive forms of labor organization, in the reinforcement and augmentation of everything positive that emerged during the nationwide socialist competition in honor of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and in the strengthening of the link between competition on the one hand and the new economic mechanism, economic accountability, and the collective contract on the other.

We see our prime task as being to develop self-management and collaboration between trade union organizations on the one hand and labor collective councils and soviets on the other, with a view to mobilizing working people's efforts to resolve urgent production and social tasks, to strengthen labor discipline, and to implement the course of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. (applause)

RSFSR Deputy Premier Tabeyev

*PM0311105588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[“Abbreviated account” of speech by Deputy F.A. Tabeyev of Rzhevskiy Electoral Okrug, Kalinin Oblast, first deputy chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers, at 27 October afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

In the RSFSR, as in the country as a whole, tangible changes are taking place, difficulties are gradually being overcome, and progressive trends are intensifying. The new methods of management are asserting themselves. Restructuring of labor and internal production relations has begun on the basis of contracts and leasing and the spread of cooperatives and individual labor activity.

However, the difficulties and disproportions in the solution of economic and social development questions have not yet been totally eliminated. In the RSFSR the development of grain growing is lagging considerably. This lag can be eliminated through profound structural changes. Retail trade and food supplies to the population are beset with great difficulties. This year there have been disruptions in the commissioning of social sphere facilities. The attention of the RSFSR Government and local organs is now focused on the solution of all these cardinal questions. As regards basic indicators, the 1989 plan on the whole accords with the aims of fulfilling the 5-year plan. At the same time, in terms of a number of indicators which demand special attention in conditions of restructuring—the development of the social sphere, the need to modernize a number of sectors of republican significance and housing and municipal services—the plan for the republic is still out of balance. While seeking

out additional resources at local level, we would like to ask the Gosplan and the USSR Government, when producing the final version of the plan, to examine once again the possibility of meeting vital requirements.

The processing and storage of agricultural produce remain a weak link in the republic agro-industrial complex system. Much attention is being paid to strengthening this link. Considerable resources are being channeled into this sphere. The task of their unconditional assimilation has been set. A decisive role in this sphere is to be played by highly productive complete sets of equipment and modern technology.

It is possible right now to achieve an appreciable growth of output through the widespread application of contract forms of labor organization and leasing relations in particular. The experience of farms in Tula, Orel, Belgorod, and Lipetsk Oblasts shows that production organization based on leasing of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in conjunction with personal subsidiary plots has made it possible within a short time to achieve a growth rate for food production 50-100 percent higher than the average rate for the republic.

In conditions of limited capital investments, it is planned to commission nonproduction facilities in the Far East and the Transbaykal region at a level higher than the average annual level set in the state program for the development of these regions. Economic units under the jurisdiction of local soviet ispolkoms are planning to increase the construction of housing by 15 percent in the Far East and 13 percent in the Buryat ASSR and Chita Oblast. Commissioning of general educational schools is to be increased by 27, 29, and 18 percent, respectively.

USSR ministries and departments are taking part in the implementation of these targets. They account for three-fourths of the capital investments. However, many of them are failing to meet the deadlines for the construction of important national economic projects and they are not paying sufficient attention to strengthening the base of construction organizations as the basis of the development of the economy and the social sphere. This applies in particular to the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR, USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, USSR Ministry of Light Industry, USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, and USSR Ministry of Transport Construction. For these reasons only half of the 148 construction base projects will be commissioned in 1988-1990 alone. We take the view that the aforementioned ministries must ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the targets of the state program.

In the 1989 plan special attention is paid to ensuring a comprehensive approach to the economic and social development of all territories and the comprehensive development of West Siberian fuel and energy resources and of our northern regions while bearing in mind the requirements of the ethnic groups living there.

A key avenue in deepening the radical economic reform is ensuring the self-sufficiency and self-financing of territories. Local budgets must be compiled on the basis of economic normatives which effectively coordinate the interests of the state and of the territories, taking account of their specific features and their level of development. As an experiment, a number of the republic's regions are to be switched to territorial economic accountability and self-financing as from next year.

The implementation of economic transformations creates the preconditions for the elimination of loss-making by enterprises, primarily through the reduction of non-production losses and expenditure, structural reorganization, and conversion to different types of output. However, not all managers have as yet mastered economic methods of management; they make poor use of the potential of lease contracts and cooperative forms of production.

The republic budget is very strained and its implementation will take place in complex conditions. As the implementation of the 1988 budget shows, it has become more difficult to find new budget revenue because the targets for profit and payments envisaged for sectors are "accepted" by enterprises only in smaller amounts. This frequently places the budget in a difficult position.

In our view, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance should introduce specific proposals to coordinate the mechanism for compiling plans for profit and budget revenue with the Law on the State Enterprise. It would be expedient to ensure that this question is resolved in the Law on Local Self-Management which is currently in preparation.

The targets set in the draft plan and budget for 1989 are steep but realistic. I propose that they be approved, taking account of the amendments and additions introduced by the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' standing commissions.

Vologda Obkom Chief Kuptsov

PM0311145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 7

[“Abbreviated account” of speech by Deputy V.A. Kuptsov of Velikoustyugskiy Electoral Okrug, Vologda Oblast, Vologda Obkom first secretary, at 27 October afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] I would like to make a few remarks about the nature of the discussion of the drafts in the commissions. As for the budget, in conditions of glasnost and democratization deputies should be given more information about the difficulties of the country's financial position, the domestic and foreign debt, inflation, and the black economy. The open presentation of the question of the budget deficit at the session will provide much food for

thought for both leaders and working people. Given correct recommendations and purposeful work at local level, this will make it possible to rectify the situation more swiftly.

Now about the draft plan. It has been compiled in many respects in old fashion. This is the view of the majority of the oblast's economic leaders, who were polled on the eve of the session. Nor were deputies given convincing arguments regarding its balanced nature. This applies above all to capital construction, the timber complex, and trade. It is clear that in a month or 6 weeks we will be holding sessions in oblasts and krays where we will again be confronted with these problems.

Many questions of the development of the agro-industrial complex demand serious additional elaboration. The fact that, despite the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference on economic priorities, arguments concerning this sector continue is causing us concern. In my view, only people who are unaware of the true state of affairs, especially in remote rayons, or who cannot appreciate the prevailing situation at local levels can have any doubts on this score today. The situation is constantly exacerbating since people do not want to wait any longer for urgent problems to be resolved. Therefore the volumes of capital investments and resources for the development of the agro-industrial complex must be given priority consideration and allocated in sums which will guarantee the strengthening of the countryside's material base.

One acute problem of the Non-Chernozem Zone is that of maintaining the fertility of our podzolic soils, and this demands the application of increased quantities of organic fertilizer. Until recently up to R20 million of budget appropriations were spent annually on work to introduce peat fertilizer into the soil. We have worked out an efficient system and our annual procurement volume topped 5 million tonnes. As a result the humus content in the soil has been considerably increased over the 5-year period. This year, however, as a result of changes in the finance procedure, the carting of peat into the fields has fallen sharply and farms' requests for peat for the coming year are less than 60 percent of past years' level. This will inevitably lead to a lowering of fertility. This situation obviously exists not only in our region, so it seems expedient at this stage to restore the former finance procedure.

I would like to draw the deputies' attention to the situation in capital construction. Overall, according to specialists and everyone employed in this sphere, the situation here is deteriorating. Even if targets for savings are met, there is a constant shortage of cement and materials for social programs and key state projects, not to mention projects built by the direct labor method. The situation is even worse when it comes to the provision of resources for capital repairs of housing and social, cultural, and consumer service projects, where there is no provision at all for centrally allocated materials.

The collective of the Cherepovets "Ammofos" Association—one of the country's biggest producers of phosphate fertilizers—has been placed in a difficult position. This smoothly operating, highly profitable enterprise meets its contract deliveries 100 percent. The successful work of the association is based on well adjusted techniques and firm business relations with the supplier of the raw materials—the Kirov "Apatit" association—on which it is designed to operate. Moreover, it must be added that 50 percent of the raw material is delivered by water transport, for which mechanized berths have been built here and in Karelia. As of the new year the ministry is severing these long-established links and is planning to cover more than half the production program with imported raw materials shipped via Odessa, bypassing related enterprises in the unloading port—Sumy and Balakovo—to which they could be delivered at a cost R4.7 million less than to Cherepovets, according to estimates of the sector research institute. As a result of this the prime cost of output will increase by 40 percent and the collective will lose more than R40 million in profit. It is obvious even without an in-depth analysis that the work of the association will be destabilized. Given this kind of approach, it will be difficult for us to instill in people's minds the principles of the cost-cutting mechanism.

Metallurgy Minister Kolpakov

PM0311093188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 6-7

[“Abbreviated account” of speech by Deputy S.V. Kolpakov of Zhdanovskiy-Ilichevskiy Electoral Okrug, Donetsk Oblast, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, at 27 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Comrades, I would first like to draw deputies' attention to a notable event. The melting down of the dismantled equipment of missile complexes began at the “Zaporozhstal” combine 7 October, Constitution Day, and the high-grade steel thereby obtained has been dispatched to “Rostselmash” for the production of agricultural equipment. The country's metallurgists are ready to continue melting down the metal of war into metal to be used for creative purposes. (applause.)

Comrades, the restructuring under way in the country has required that we critically reexamine all our work and identify the main areas. The basic ones are: meeting the national economy's needs for high-grade metal; stabilizing enterprises' work; the economy; retooling; social issues; and ecology.

Metallurgists have overfulfilled their 5-year plan targets in terms of production and economic indicators for the last 3 years. Realistically assessing the results, we consider that internal production economic accountability is not yet in full operation. But the new developments are

burgeoning daily in many enterprises. Particularly successful solutions have been found at the Poltava mining and enrichment combine. The intensive development of internal economic accountability and the switching of 100 enterprises to the second model of economic accountability as from 1989 should give a fresh boost to economic work.

Comrades, I can state with the utmost responsibility that ferrous metallurgy has not felt real restructuring in capital construction. The attention shown by construction ministries to reconstructing the sector's enterprises is slackening. In the 1st 9 months of the current year alone more than R300 million of capital investment earmarked for production facilities was not assimilated. Twelve projects on the Gosplan list were not commissioned in 1987. This year the commissioning of rolling mills, coke-oven batteries, and facilities designed to reduce the import of metal products, including a sheet-aluminizing complex in Cherepovets intended, by the way, to manufacture light rural structural components.

An economic mechanism providing an incentive for construction workers to commission capacities as quickly as possible is needed. We must shift to a system whereby the purchaser pays for the completed project. We utterly fail to understand the USSR Gosstroy's stance on this issue, which indicates that they have reverted to gross output in improving the management of the construction complex. And now we wonder why the amount of unfinished construction work in the country is growing. The transfer of the Main Administrations for the Supply of Complete Sets of Equipment from the USSR Gosstab to ministries did not pay off. The situation regarding the supply of complete sets of equipment to projects deteriorated and the existing system collapsed. This must be rapidly rectified in the light of the Law on the State Enterprise.

We now regard ecology as a priority area in the sector's work. The criticism of us is justified, we have to make amends to the people and to nature. Programs to improve the ecological situation, which have already been coordinated with virtually all local organs, have now been drawn up at every enterprise. An ecological council to direct this work has been set up in the sector. Nature conservation structural subunits have been organized at enterprises. It has been decided to convert some of the sector's centralized repair subunits in order to carry out work for the capital repair, reconstruction, and modernization of gas and water purification equipment.

We share the concern of the public, residents, and local organs of power for the state of the ecology, but we cannot understand their stance when funds allocated for nature conservation, backed up by equipment and other resources, are not assimilated. The results of the 1st 9 months of the year show assimilation of only 65-88 percent of funds at certain nature conservation projects in Makeyevka, Zhdanov, Zaporozhye, Kemerovo, Novokuznets, and Temirtau.

We must literally all bring our weight to bear on the ecological problem. It is intended to boost ecological spending in the 1989 plan by 30 percent over the current year.

Comrade deputies, I think that the measures being taken to increase the soviets' role in developing their territories are absolutely right. It is no secret that local soviets quite often regard enterprises under union jurisdiction as a burden that diverts labor resources and creates social and ecological problems. Local soviets do not feel that their economic prosperity depends on the development and the economy of enterprises under union jurisdiction. And they are right. The financing of local soviets through the union budget does not help this either. And the deductions from profit paid into local budgets are negligible. On the whole, in ferrous metallurgy, for example, they amount to just 2.8 percent of profits, and some enterprises pay around 1 percent. We think it necessary to create a mechanism giving local soviets an interest in profit growth.

Belorussian Premier Kovalev

PM0311154388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["Abbreviated account" of speech by Deputy M.V. Kovalev of Bobruyskiy Electoral Okrug, Belorussian SSR, chairman of Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, at 28 October morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

Belorussia is exceeding the targets set for the 5-year plan as regards basic economic indicators. Over the period of 4 years the produced national income will have increased by 22.2 percent and the global social product by 19.3 percent.

The 1989 plan was elaborated on the basis of proposals submitted by labor collectives and local soviets. This has made it possible to take better account not only of production reserves but also of individual regions' social needs. Most of the plan's basic economic indicators were approved during its examination at the USSR Council of Ministers. However, there also remain unsolved problems which are of great significance for the republic but are not adequately reflected in the plan.

One of the main problems is the ecological problem.

The point is that industrial development in Belorussia has been extremely intensive over the past 15 years. The volume of industrial production has trebled over this period. As a result there have been no free labor resources in our republic for a long time now, there is a shortage of power generation capacities, and transport is operating under a great strain.

It must be frankly admitted that we have not always succeeded in getting ministries and departments to carry out the full range of nature conservation measures during the construction and operation of their enterprises, and, as a result, an unfavorable ecological situation has developed in certain cities and areas of our republic.

In addition, the republic has found itself in an extremely difficult position as a result of the accident in Chernobyl. Unfortunately, the negative impact of the consequences of this accident is not decreasing. The latest tests have shown that a considerably greater territory than previously thought is contaminated with radioactive fallout. Almost one-fifth of agricultural land is subject to various degrees of contamination. This calls for the implementation of a series of urgent measures.

We have asked the party Central Committee and the government to take into account the measures which we have proposed when compiling the plan for 1989. We hope that this will be done. At the same time we believe that the siting of new industrial enterprises in the republic, with the exception of processing sectors, is unacceptable in these circumstances.

The next question which, in our opinion, is not sufficiently reflected in the draft plan is land reclamation.

There are in our republic almost 5 million hectares of marshland and land overgrown with shrubs, and almost 1.5 million hectares (out of 6.8 million) of plowland can be described as such only by a great stretch of imagination. In addition, it must be borne in mind that annually some 6,000 hectares of land are removed from agricultural use for various kinds of construction projects. And the contours of plowland, in Vitebsk Oblast, for instance, make the largest cultivable area only just over 5 hectares. How can we manage without land reclamation work in these circumstances? Therefore we believe that the volume of land reclamation construction in our republic in the 1989 plan must be kept as a minimum at the level laid down in the 5-year plan.

Beginning this year our main contractor—the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Construction—has been operating in conditions of complete economic accountability. Its profit depends on commissioning projects on time or ahead of schedule. This means that material supplies, too, must be efficiently organized. We hoped that this would be ensured as a result of the switch to wholesale trade. However, this did not happen.

For instance, the volume of contract work of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Construction rose by 8 percent in 1988, while funds for cement and other basic construction materials were cut by 6 percent against the 1987 level, thus there is a clear imbalance in the plan. And this has resulted in a whole string of negative phenomena in construction worker collectives. Judging

by preliminary data, the situation as regards the provision of the construction industry with material resources will not only not improve in 1989 but will, on the contrary, become even more strained.

In this connection we deem it necessary at the present stage of the compilation of the plan, when capital construction volumes for the coming year are known, to define who should expand construction, where, and to what extent and to bring the volume of construction and installation work into line with the actual possibilities as regards material supply.

This year the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) has come into force. The state order now covers a smaller share of the output. We have thus switched to completely new forms of relations between supplier, producer, and consumer. The basic criterion of mutual relations is the contract. In this connection the need has arisen to raise responsibility for the fulfillment of contract commitments. They must be strictly observed.

During the 1st 9 months of the current year the republic fulfilled its contract commitments 99.91 percent. At first glance this seems quite good. The total shortfall in deliveries amounted to R21 million. However, when this is expressed in physical terms, it emerges that the country failed to receive 315 trucks, 1,026 machine tools, and 715 passenger elevators. That represents at least 200 apartment blocks and more than R9 million of various petrochemical products. And all these shortfalls are connected with the failure of outside suppliers to meet their commitments.

It looks as though the new economic responsibility mechanism has still not properly come into play, while former controls have been removed. The upshot is real chaos. Therefore we believe that it is necessary to step up rather than slacken supervision in all spheres to ensure timely deliveries under contracts.

Comrade deputies! I propose that the draft state plan and budget of the country for 1989 be approved, incorporating the additions and amendments introduced by the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

Uzbek Party Official Anishchev

PM0311163188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["Abbreviated account" of speech by Deputy V.P. Anishchev of Denauskiy Electoral Okrug, Uzbek SSR, second secretary of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, at 28 October morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] The republic party organization, which is continuing to wage an active struggle for a healthier climate and self-purification, has great opportunities to mobilize the

working people for the struggle to increase Uzbekistan's contribution to the implementation of unionwide tasks. We proceeded from this premise when compiling the draft plan for the economic and social development of the Uzbek SSR in the coming year.

First, we believe that we have succeeded in strengthening the social thrust of the plan and providing for real increases in the supply of food products to the population and in improving people's housing conditions and cultural and living standards. Second, the plan is based on the transition of all production sectors to complete economic accountability and self-financing and to introduction of the lease contract. Third, next year's plan is to appreciably improve the state of affairs as regards the current 5-year plan and to lay the foundation for further progress. For the first time the elaboration of the plan took place directly in labor collectives, where the technological and economic state of production was analyzed and consumers' demands were studied.

Faster development of sectors which determine technical progress, particularly the machine building complex, in which the growth rate is double that for industry as a whole, is envisaged. A course has been set of accelerating the production of consumer goods with a view to increasing output of them by 10 percent—that is almost R500 million above the control figures.

In agriculture cotton growing is the focus of special concern. The output of cotton fiber will total 1.71 million tonnes, which is 30,000 tonnes more than the plan target for the current year. The increase in the production of food products is to total some 9 percent, which is more than double the 5-year plan target. Almost 1.3 million tonnes of fruit, vegetables, grapes, and cucurbits will be supplied to union stocks.

The volume of commissioned housing, children's preschool establishments, schools, and health care facilities is to exceed plan indicators.

However, it must be noted that the coordination of the draft plan with union organs is still not free from the former obsolete approaches. The production volumes laid down for us, including those under the state order, are once again not balanced with the quotas for capital investment, contract work, and material and technical resources.

For instance, in the coming year individual housing construction will sharply increase in Uzbekistan—by up to 56 percent of the total volume—and enterprises' funds for this purpose will more than double. However, even this planned increase will not compensate for the reduction in state capital investment quotas for housing construction. After all, for the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources alone centrally allocated capital investments for the period covered by the plan are being almost halved. It is difficult to agree with all this when you bear in mind the new approaches to

planning. It is also necessary to give some serious thought to the real conditions for republics' transfer to self-capitalization and self-financing. After all, in Uzbekistan even such a leading sector as cotton growing has virtually no impact on conditions for forming the republic budget. And the machine building, fuel and energy, metallurgical, and chemical industry complexes play absolutely no role in providing its revenue. This also applies to foreign currency revenue earned with the participation of republic organs and via the use of local resources.

I believe that all these problems will now, in the new conditions of work, be resolved more successfully by deputies. The role of commissions and the exactingness of the people's deputies have already increased, especially during the preparations for the current session, when deputies simply refused to agree to a whole series of plan indicators. However, judging by my own experience of work in the Commission on Housing and Municipal Services, I must admit that deputies lack the time to monitor the implementation of decisions. Leaders of the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, for instance, take advantage of this. They were instructed by commission deputies to increase output of harvesting machinery which is in short supply, yet they are planning to reduce production of this machinery in 1989 by 45 percent. In my opinion, now, when the proposed amendments to the USSR Constitution make provision for the USSR Supreme Soviet to work constantly for 3-4 month sessions, this kind of thing will no longer be possible.

Naturally, we are all aware that the situation in Uzbekistan demands that we work even more persistently and purposefully. And this is what we intend to do. (applause.)

Latvian TU Chief Zitmanis

PM0311132588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

["Abbreviated account" of "Speech by Deputy A.K. Zitmanis, of Salduskiy Electoral Okrug, Latvian SSR," chairman of the Latvian SSR Trade Union Council, at 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Frankly speaking, a year or two ago I would have begun my speech thus: On behalf of Latvia's 1.5 million trade union members I approve and support the draft plan which basically takes into account also the wishes of our republic's working people. To put it more simply, I would have put my faith in the reputation of experts from the country's Gosplan and, for tradition's sake, would have asked for something or other for the republic. Today, however, I think that such an approach toward the appraisal of such an important document

runs contrary to the spirit of demandingness and principledness which we are all learning from the example of the 19th all-union party conference.

If the draft plan for 1989 were looked at from these positions, one would automatically draw the conclusion that it contains substantial flaws. I do not know about you, but I personally do not perceive in it any sharp turn in the direction of, for example, the needs of agriculture. There are positive developments, but there is no turn-about. Instead of a concentration of means, funds, and resources to boost this important sector, we perceive the same old attempts to launch an offensive along a broad front. Experts might object that everything has been done according to the previously elaborated 5-year plan. I believe this. But restructuring was only just beginning at the time when that plan was being elaborated, and many things looked quite different. Now we have drawn the conclusion that the time has come to repay our debt to the countryside. So let us not put this off until the next 5-year plan.

We are thinking of increasing the construction of non-production projects in the countryside as early as next year. In order to achieve this, we will be forced to freeze a number of industrial construction projects and to somewhat slow down housing construction in the cities so as to accelerate it in the countryside. Not everyone approves these measures. But there is no other way. I think that the country's Gosplan must take another look and ponder what can be delayed a little, what can be given up, and even what else can be given to the agro-industrial complex.

We are calling leaseholders to the countryside, but we cannot supply even the construction materials we ourselves produce! And never mind the leaseholders! Having completely withdrawn slates from marketable stocks, we found it difficult to supply slates to stock units. But there are reserves, aren't there? I judge by our own republic. For example, our experts compiled a list of projects under union ministries and departments where the volume of construction work planned for next year could be reduced by R17 million and the construction capacities could be transferred to the development of the agro-industrial complex. But the country's Gosplan remains silent.

A second unsatisfactory point in the draft plan is the lack of a clear-cut program to improve the health of the ecological situation in the country. We failed to give ecology the due attention for too long a time. Matters in our republic have gone as far as the point where the Yurmala sanatorium is under threat of closure and bathing in the Gulf of Riga has been banned for some time now. Immediate measures and major capital investments are needed to remedy the situation. But, to put it bluntly, it is also necessary to overcome the diktat by union ministries and departments which, in their accustomed manner, are more worried about profits than about nature. Here we need the weighty word of the

country's Supreme Soviet backed by corresponding amendments to the plans. We must hurry before ecological disasters become irreversible and before they evolve into an acute political problem.

The third point which, in my view, has been inadequately considered in the draft state plan are the interests of regions as regards distribution of commodities and deliveries of foodstuffs. The per capita volume of consumer goods production in our republic is twice the figure for the country as a whole. At the same time, we are experiencing an exceptionally intensive growth of unsatisfied demand. It has already reached R700 million. The basic cause of this growth are the inordinately high targets for interrepublic deliveries. A similar imbalance exists as regards supplies of foodstuffs to the republic. Over the last 15 years our meat production has increased by a factor of 1.5, while our deliveries to all-union stocks have almost trebled.

Like before, the draft plan displays the habit of building up production capacities wherever the infrastructure is best developed, even in our own republic. Those who elaborate it obviously forget that labor resources in our republic were exhausted a long time ago. Even worse, we will soon face the need to close down a number of light industry enterprises. So, would it not be better to start thinking right now about creating new capacities in regions where there is surplus manpower and where raw materials are on hand?

We have already made a number of specific proposals in this context. Back in June, a plenum of the Latvian Trade Union Council sent to the USSR Council of Ministers a resolution containing the demand to review the program for the deployment of industrial construction in the republic in the remaining years of the 5-year plan period. But instead of a constructive reply, we received a lecture from Council of Ministers officials about improperly formulated paperwork. I will not argue about matters of form. This is not the point. The problem lies elsewhere. Today, when the peoples' national awareness is growing fast, it is impossible to treat proposals by union republics in the old fashion. Bellowing or delays will not set matters right, but the prestige of the republic's leaders, the prestige of the cause could be undermined.

I speak not only on my own behalf, I speak on behalf of all our voters. They instructed us to take their hopes and aspirations to the Supreme Soviet, to the country's government. They, like we, are entitled to believe that these proposals will be reflected in the state plan for socioeconomic development.

Yerevan School Director Martirosyan

PM0311133788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

["Abbreviated account" of "Speech by Deputy K.G. Martirosyan of Yerevanskiy-Zeytunskiy Electoral Okrug, Armenian SSR," director of Yerevan's No 86 Secondary School, at 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrades! I deem it my

duty to touch upon the exceptionally acute situation which recently developed in Armenia. All strata of the republic's population are fired by the idea of a fair political solution to the problem of Nagorny Karabakh. All remaining questions—be they guarantees for the safety of the Armenian population or acceleration of the autonomous oblast's socioeconomic development—are already derivatives of this idea in the working people's mind. People in the republic welcomed with gratification the party and government decisions to accelerate Nagorny Karabakh's socioeconomic development and the posting of a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the autonomous oblast. The work by members of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission headed by A.E. Voss has been highly appraised with great understanding both in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in Armenia.

The Soviet people will always remember the tragic events in Sumgait in February 1988 and in the Azerbaijan SSR's Khodzhal Village in September of the same year, when totally innocent people of Armenian nationality died or were physically and morally maimed in the course of mass disorders, of pogroms organized by elements with hostile feelings toward our internationalism and the friendship between USSR peoples, toward everything that is bright and good and has always distinguished the Soviet way of life. Sumgait has remained an open wound in the hearts of Armenia's working people. This wound has been irritated for a long time, and is still being irritated by the patently protracted investigation, by the fact that the trial proceedings have been scattered to different cities in the country. And the republic is receiving no information at all about what punishment has been meted and to whom, about whether a political—yes, a political—assessment has been made of the events.

The long-awaited trial of the Sumgait criminals opened in Moscow, in the USSR Supreme Court, and people believed that retribution would inevitably follow in respect of the committed crimes. But the harshest punishment must without fail be meted to the organizers of the criminal actions. Let us hope that they will take their place in the dock and will get their just desserts.

Turkmen Party Official Nesterenko

PM0311150588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

["Abbreviated account" of "Speech by Deputy S.M. Nesterenko of Charshanginskiy Electoral Okrug, Turkmen SSR," second secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, at 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! I support the proposals made here to adopt the country's plan and budget for 1989 along basic lines. But at the same time I cannot but

express concern with the fact that the USSR Gosplan and the central ministries and departments failed to coordinate a series of targets in the course of shaping the plan. In many instances production plans are not backed by material resources, and the country's financial situation is not improving.

I especially wish to draw attention to the state of affairs in the fuel and energy complex, since I personally took part in the work done by the relevant preparatory commission. While discussing these problems, deputies noted that targets for the commissioning of new energy capacities are being wrecked year in and year out. As Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov declared at the preparatory commission's plenary session, the energy industry plan has been a total failure during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan period. Consequently, reserve capacities in the country's unified power supply system are 2-3 times lower than normatives. This, comrades, could jeopardize the reliable supply of electricity to the national economy during the winter and could produce bad results.

I would like to dwell on questions concerning the countryside's development. Despite the fact that natural gas extraction volumes in the republic are growing every year, the level of natural gas supplies to the rural population is very low. We suggest that the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, and the USSR Gosagroprom be instructed to examine this question and, jointly with the republic, map out measures for the accelerated gasification of the countryside. The solution of this problem would also help to save a large quantity of coal and fuel oil. This is first. The second point is that an extremely tense situation is developing in the republic as regards supplies of bricks to rural construction sites, owing to a shortage of production capacities. We ask that a way be found to allocate to us annually 10-15 brick production equipment units with an annual capacity of 10 million bricks, so as to overcome the existing shortage.

Comrades! Serious concern is caused by the imbalance of the country's state budget for 1989, which has been submitted for examination by this session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In essence this means that a certain proportion of the measures envisaged by the plan for the country's economic and social development will not be backed by financial sources. In this context, the republic is taking measures to enhance production efficiency, to reduce and eliminate loss-making enterprises, and to improve the health of the financial situation. Initial positive changes have already been achieved, but much still remains to be done. The republic is making a certain contribution toward seeking and mobilizing additional financial resources in the process of plan fulfillment and budget performance in our region.

Comrade deputies! I represent here voters from Charshanginskiy Okrug. In the course of holding my reception sessions as a deputy, more than one-half of the voters approached me with questions about jobs. This

proves that this region, just like the republic as a whole by the way, has a large number of people not employed in social production. This is what I would like to say in this context.

In line with the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and with help from union organizations, our republic continues the work to shape the East Turkmen Territorial-Production Complex. The construction of the Central Asian potassium plant is planned as part of the complex. This plant's production of gypsum, celestite, and dressed stone would solve the problem of supplying these products not only to our republic but also to the whole of Central Asia.

A great national economic effect will be produced by the creation of the Turkmen gas and chemical industry complex for the production of plastics and high-impact irrigation pipes needed for the construction of rural projects, including the improvement of the ecological situation in the Aral Sea basin. The complex which is taking shape provides all the conditions for intensive development of light industry with a closed production cycle. The main point, as far as we are concerned, is that the accelerated development of the production complex will ultimately solve the problem of employing the fast growing labor resources.

I would like to note that not all union ministries link the prospects for their sectors' development with the siting of production units in regions possessing surplus manpower. Many prefer to channel capital investment into regions where sectorial enterprises are already established, regardless of the multiplicity of difficulties as regards the supply of labor and energy resources. Therefore, I would like to address the deputies and the leaders of the relevant ministries and departments. A time will come when you will be forced to ask to site new production enterprises in the republic. But difficulties which do not yet exist may have emerged by that time. For the time being, the sectors will enjoy conditions of most favorable treatment in the republic. Thank you for your attention. (Applause).

Gossnab Official Faustov

PM0311141788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

["Abbreviated account" of "Speech by Deputy V.A. Faustov of Tukayevskiy Electoral Okrug, Tatar ASSR," first deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab, at the 28 October 1988 afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

It is 3 and 1/2 years since the April plenum, and the 3d year since the 27th congress is essentially coming to an end. Today one could ask: What has actually been done by our ministries, by our national economic complexes and sectors, from the viewpoint of the intensification of production?

I must tell you, comrades, that it is impossible to give an simple answer to this question. The point is that only two of the economic indicators are operating under the new economic mechanism: Labor productivity and, to a certain extent, the enhancement of the technical standards and quality of manufactured output. As regards the generalizing indicator—reduction of materials-intensiveness—we have simply lost it. In view of this fact, today we cannot, as I see it, analyze, let alone control questions of the intensification of production, we cannot even say how the sectorial ministries, national economic complexes, and the national economy's sectors are fulfilling the decisions of the April plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress.

Last July the USSR Council of Ministers examined the concept of our country's socioeconomic development through the year 2005. It has to be said that the concept reflects a social orientation: a sharp improvement of Soviet people's prosperity and life is envisaged. For this purpose it is planned to virtually double the growth of national income. And in order to ensure such growth, it is necessary to reduce materials-intensiveness by 15 percent. This means that about 45 percent of the 100-percent growth of national income must be secured through reduced materials-intensiveness of social production because, as science proves to us today, a 1-percent reduction of the materials-intensiveness of social production ensures a 3-percent growth of national income.

In my belief today is too early to abandon this indicator. I submit the following proposal; starting in 1989, to plan a materials-intensiveness indicator (even if it sets only computational control targets rather than directive targets) and to give notice of this indicator to ministries, complexes, sectors, and union republics.

The question of resource savings is being discussed in the press and in the USSR Council of Ministers. Moreover, there is unanimity in assessing the question. Everybody remarks that resource savings are the basis of economic development, that resource savings are the basis for balancing the plans for production and for material and technical supplies. It seems to me, however, that we are unlikely to advance any further, because so far no provision has been made for a rigid concept as regards the question of resource savings.

I must say that the first model of economic accountability, being a cost-cutting model, is not working today. The point is that profit has been defined as the basic indicator of this economic accountability. The intention was that collectives would be interested in earning more profits and would naturally take the path of reducing material costs. But so far this has not happened in practice. Even industrial enterprises and production associations which have been transferred to new economic accountability ensure the growth of their profits not through intensive factors and reduction of material costs, but mainly by increasing the volume of output and reducing fixed costs.

As regards the actual normative method for distribution of profits and revenues, it seems to me that this is not the most advanced form. The point is that this smacks of wage leveling to a certain extent. Why? Because normatives were set and tailored to suit the prevailing economics of industrial enterprises. As a result of this, one and the same ministry has some enterprises deducting 10-15 percent of their profits and paying it into the ministry's centralized fund and the state budget, and other enterprises which deduct up to 70-80 percent. The question is: Why? Where is the social justice? This is why it would be correct if we were to abandon the normative method and were to adopt a tax system, a uniform tax system for all our industrial enterprises.

We have a USSR Gosplan commission dealing with questions of the improvement of the economic mechanism. But the negative aspects of planning now existing in the Gosplan apparatus' work are automatically shifted to this commission. This is why it would be correct to reform it into a Council of Ministers commission headed by a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, since its work is of a multisector nature.

Lastly, I suggest changing the procedure for examining proposals made by deputies during the debate. The point is that criticism and our proposals end up with those whom we criticize, in other words they are channeled to the Gosplan itself, to the sectorial ministries themselves. We have noticed that some ministries and departments, where officials adopt a profoundly party-minded approach, make really party-minded decisions. There are also instances when pat replies are received. This is why I would propose that, under the conditions of restructuring and in the new political system, the more important proposals by deputies be examined as a rule by the relevant Supreme Soviet commissions, and the most fundamental ones by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. (Applause).

Secretary Menteshashvili

PM0211162388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 5-6

["Report by T.N. Menteshashvili, Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on Approving USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees" delivered at 28 October 1988 joint evening session of USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

The decrees which the Supreme Soviet Presidium submits for your approval today proceed from the interests of and directly concern the process of the democratization of sociopolitical life in the country, the strengthening of legality and law and order, and the consolidation of guarantees of the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms. Thus there are grounds for saying that they are

closely linked with the implementation of the decisions of the 19th party conference and the July (1988) plenum of the party's Central Committee on developing and deepening restructuring.

We are all witnesses to the way the process of our society's revolutionary renewal and the party's policy of expanding openness and glasnost have brought about appreciable growth in Soviet people's political active-ness. Therefore it seems perfectly natural that life has set before us the question of the need for additional legal regulation of a number of new relations which have recently come into being.

It is known that the Soviet Constitution, expressing the people's interests and with a view to strengthening the socialist system, guarantees among citizens' most important freedoms the right to hold meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations. Under conditions of the Soviet people's increasing initiative and self-motivated activity, the need has arisen to concretize in legislation the procedure for realizing these important provisions of the Constitution and to clearly define the rights and duties both of citizens and of state organs and public organizations.

In this connection the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a corresponding decree on 28 July this year. Scientists, other specialists, and local comrades participated in its preparation along with deputies, and numerous public suggestions were taken into account. At the same time a careful study was made of the existing experience of holding mass events in the union republics and in a number of the country's major cities. It is known that prior to the publication of the union decree, normative acts had been adopted on this question, for example, in Belorussia, Latvia, Georgia, and Estonia and in the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, and others. The practice in socialist and other countries was studied. In many of them, incidentally, stricter rules apply.

The adopted decree lays down a democratic procedure for organizing such events and specifies the rights and duties both of their organizers and of local soviets. It directly provides that the soviet ispolkom must ensure the necessary conditions for holding a meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration. State and public organizations, officials, and citizens do not have the right to prevent these events if the procedure defined by the legislation is observed.

At the same time the decree proceeds from the premise that the realization of democracy is inconceivable without firm legality and discipline. In this connection meeting and rally organizers and participants must show respect for Soviet laws and observe public order. Soviet ispolkoms have the right to ban the holding of an event if its purpose is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, infringes upon the interests or rights of Soviet citizens, or threatens their safety and public order.

As experience shows, a considerable proportion of the proposals to hold rallies, meetings, and demonstrations receive the soviets' support, although it must be said that refusals do occur when they go against the laws or violate established regulations.

You have also been informed, comrade deputies, that the Supreme Soviet Presidium simultaneously issued a decree on making some changes to USSR criminal and administrative legislation. On the basis of this decree legislative acts are being adopted in the union republics which provide for liability for violation of the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations.

The Presidium decree on the duties and rights of USSR MVD internal troops also serves the purposes of strengthening legality and law and order. The personnel of these troops are called upon to protect the Soviet state's interests, strictly observe socialist legality, defend the personal dignity, rights, and freedoms of Soviet citizens against criminal and other infringements, and, in short, essentially exercise the same powers as are granted to militia workers in accordance with legislation.

At the same time I should inform you, comrade deputies, that the said decrees, in addition to eliciting support and approval from the majority of Soviet people, have also provoked certain contradictory responses and criticisms. I have in mind individual press articles and appeals sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

What do these views mainly boil down to?

First, **about the decree on meetings, demonstrations, and rallies.** Some people are totally opposed to any regulation of mass events, believing that there are sufficient provisions in the Constitution for them. In the opinion of others, local soviet ispolkoms should not adopt a decision to permit the holding of a mass event but merely register the application to hold it if there is nothing contrary to the law in it.

What can be said in this regard?

I believe that sensible regulation always contains elements of order and organization. This, as practice shows, is a necessary condition for the organized holding of such events and serves the interests both of their initiators and of society as a whole.

As for the local soviet, it probably cannot leave things to their own devices or let them drift. But precisely these ends are served by the established procedure for examining applications and by the adoption of the appropriate legislative decision on them.

It is appropriate to emphasize that cases where the connivance of state organs which have failed to oppose antisocial phenomena actively and effectively has ended dramatically are only too well known. It is sufficient to

recall the tragedy in Sumgait, which causes a sharp pain in the hearts of us all, and the events in Alma-Ata, Kazan, Morshansk, and certain other places.

Now, as regards various opinions of the decree on the legal powers of MVD internal troops.

I wish to immediately draw deputies' attention to the fact that no fundamentally new provisions have been incorporated in this decree. Its purpose was to substantially raise the level of legal regulation of the activities of MVD military formations. The internal troops' rights and duties have been removed from departmental instructional regulation and are now enshrined in an act of a legislative nature—a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

This change is undoubtedly in the interests of citizens, for it considerably enhances guarantees of legitimacy and glasnost in the internal troops' activity and outlines its legislative framework. This thrust is inseparably linked with the development of the socialist rule-of-law state. It is intended here that the provisions contained in this decree, with due regard for its application, will subsequently be reflected in the Law on the Soviet Militia, which is now being prepared.

I am entrusted with informing the Supreme Soviet that the decrees were once again discussed in detail and comprehensively at a presession sitting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Suffice it to say that a majority of Presidium members—workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, leaders of party and state organs and public organizations, and representatives of 11 union republics—addressed the sitting on this question. Very diverse aspects of the decrees' substance and of its application were touched on.

All Presidium members were unanimous in the opinion that these decrees are very necessary. They by no means pursue the aim of curbing the political and social activity of citizens or their initiative and independence in any way. On the contrary, they have been issued in the interests of Soviet people, for they are aimed at putting the entire multiplicity of democratic initiatives on a sound legal foundation, giving them a legitimate form, and strengthening them with additional guarantees.

It was once again emphasized at the Presidium sitting that socialist democracy is incompatible with total license. It demands a high degree of organization, discipline, and order. These must be inviolable and reliably ensured. This is the firm mandate of working people and voters, which the supreme organ of state power must unswervingly implement.

As regards the practice of application of the said decrees, as the Presidium sitting pointed out, it must be constantly improved, permitting no deviations from the norms of the law, which, as is known, do exist.

The final point that must be taken into account when examining this question: These decrees have been in effect for a very short time. It may be said that the new practice is only just paving its way. We still have too little material for final assessments and categorical judgments. We are all learning to live under conditions of democracy. We still have to acquire the necessary experience, shape practice, and then, on the basis of its generalization, if necessary, make the corresponding corrections.

I will proceed to the next decrees submitted for your approval.

Since the last regular session the Presidium has made partial changes to the fundamentals of USSR and union republic correctional labor legislation. In particular, the decree of 25 July this year provides for a certain relaxation of the regime for keeping people sentenced to imprisonment who have incurred disciplinary penalty measures for violating the rules governing the serving of their sentence.

Comrade deputies! You are well aware of the active development of our countries' international ties in very different areas. The expanding contacts between judicial and other law enforcement organs in the USSR and in foreign states are no exception here. A large number of bilateral treaties on legal aid in civil, family, and criminal cases are being concluded. All this has brought about the need to standardize the regulations governing the fulfillment of such treaties in the USSR. In this connection the decree of 21 June defines the procedure for carrying out in our country foreign court decisions on civil cases and sentences in criminal cases in the sphere of compensation for damage done by a crime, as well as carrying out the acts of other organs of foreign states.

Continuing the policy of restructuring national economic management and in accordance with a submission from the USSR Government, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has transformed the union republic Ministry of the Fish Industry into an all-union ministry. It is now entrusted with directing sea and ocean fishing, and it has been decided to concentrate management of fishing in inland bodies of water under the jurisdiction of union republic, kray, and oblast agro-industrial organs.

This is a brief account of the decrees of a normative nature adopted by the Presidium in recent months. At the same time I wish to emphasize that the submitted decrees reflect just part of the multifaceted activity which is now being developed to update legislation and which will increase all the time. As M.S. Gorbachev pointed out recently, a large amount of work awaits us in connection with our state's development as a rule-of-law state and with the qualitative enhancement of society's legal culture. We realize that all this imposes a high responsibility on the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and the soviets at all levels. We must step on it and carry out deeper restructuring.

The draft laws on amendments and additions to the Constitution and on the elections of USSR people's deputies, recently published for nationwide discussion, represent a very important step on this path. As is known, they proceed from the 19th party conference decisions and concern fundamental questions of the political system's reform.

Now a few words about cadre questions.

You know that Comrade Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov has been appointed chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. In this connection decrees are being submitted on his release from the duties of USSR minister of internal affairs and on the appointment to that post of Comrade Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin.

Decrees have also been adopted on the release of Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Shimko from the post of minister of the radio industry in connection with his reassignment and of Comrade Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Yezhevskiy from the duties of minister of agricultural and tractor machine building in connection with his retirement on pension.

Some changes have been made to the composition of the union Supreme Court.

By decrees of 15 June and 5 August Comrades Lyudmila Vasilyevna Chistyakova and Igor Konstantinovich Piskarev were elected members of the Supreme Court. Comrade Aleksandra Filippovna Demyanenko was released from her duties as member of the USSR Supreme Court in connection with her retirement on pension.

In accordance with the Constitution all the decrees of which I have informed you are subject to approval by the Supreme Soviet. You have the texts of these decrees and the corresponding materials relating to them. Please examine and adopt them, comrade deputies.

Gosplan's Maslyukov Closing Speech

*PM0211121388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 Morning Edition pp 4-5*

[“Concluding Speech by Deputy Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan” delivered at 28 October evening joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow; remarks by session Chairman Yu.N. Khristoradnov are appended to speech]

Esteemed comrade deputies! At their sessions the Soviet of Nationalities and Soviet of the Union have held a detailed and thorough discussion of the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989 presented by the USSR Council of Ministers and have made constructive suggestions for its improvement.

Many aspects of the development of the economy were examined critically in an atmosphere of democracy and glasnost in the country's supreme organ. A comprehensive evaluation of the plan's consonance with the Soviet people's vital needs has been carried out. The plan has undergone rigorous social analysis to see how it meets the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the social and economic development priorities defined by it.

The coreports by the Budget and Planning Commissions and other standing commissions and deputies' speeches stressed that the plan is aimed at accelerating the solution of social questions and achieving a new quality and standard of life for the people in all the main areas—the improvement of the food situation, the supply of non-food consumer goods to the market, and the increasing of housing and cultural-consumer construction.

During the examination of the draft plan the Budget and Planning Commissions submitted a proposal to increase the volume of consumer goods production by approximately R1.7 billion. This amendment has been adopted and the corresponding adjustments have been made to the state order.

The additional work on the plan on the basis of the deputies' remarks was intensive and lasted the entire period that the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' standing commissions were at work. The last, very important amendments to the plan, which reflect the increase in capital investments aimed at developing the social sphere, were submitted literally just before the USSR Supreme Soviet session began, as demonstrated by the pages of amendments in the materials distributed to you.

The remarks and suggestions made by deputies in speeches in the chambers' standing commissions and at the USSR Supreme Soviet session concentrated on the most important questions.

The first concerns the balanced nature of the plan, achieved, as the report noted, on the basis of resource-saving.

In capital construction it is planned to reduce the relative consumption of rolled ferrous metals by 3.9 percent and of cement by 3.8 percent while in the machine building complex the relative consumption of rolled ferrous metals is to be reduced by 7.6 percent. These figures are close to the 5-year plan targets. As for timber materials, here the targets have been made more stringent. The government resolution on the 1989 plan provides for a whole series of measures to improve the use of existing timber resources.

Light industry is fully provided with the necessary raw and other materials.

In the conditions of the new economic mechanism the solution of questions relating to the balance of the plan is to a large extent transferred to local level, because the volume of centrally allocated resources has been reduced considerably. Each enterprise has two guises in the production process—as producer and as consumer of output. Thus it is necessary to accelerate the completion of the contract campaign for next year at enterprises. The solution of these questions depends primarily on the conclusion of contracts for output supply.

Deputies V.A. Lunev and B.A. Zhuravlev submitted a second group of questions related to the fact that at enterprises and organizations the growth of wages in a number of instances is outstripping the growth of labor productivity, leading to an imbalance in the economy and an increase in purchasing power over the availability of goods. This question is quite correct and has been singled out for discussion by the government. Measures are now being formulated to ensure that the set normative correlation between the increases in labor productivity and wages is observed. The banking system is to play an important role in this.

The third group of questions is connected with increasing the efficiency of capital investments and improving the economic mechanism in the investment sphere. Work on these questions is under way and a government resolution is being prepared to provide for increased incentives for the attainment of the end result—the commissioning of facilities within the normative schedule—as well as an enhancement of the role of credit and other economic levers in the investment complex.

Deputies' speeches touched on a series of questions connected with the development of the cooperative movement in the country. The Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet gave considerable impetus to that movement. There are around 48,000 cooperatives at present producing goods and services worth R2.6 billion. Besides the positive results, certain negative trends connected with the unjustified raising of prices for goods and services supplied by cooperative workers, especially in the public catering sphere, have been appearing in their activity. The system of taxing cooperatives' income should be one of the economic instruments used to counter these trends. As is well known, however, the decree on the taxation of cooperatives was suspended at the request of a number of deputies at the last session. The preparation of a new draft reflecting a fair solution of this problem is nearing completion now. Local soviets and unions of cooperatives can and must do a lot to establish order in the work of cooperatives. It is also important to establish a system for supplying cooperatives with certain types of raw and other materials so as to preclude speculation in this sphere.

In brief, we must learn how to manage the cooperative movement so that it develops on a healthy basis. This is a necessary and progressive cause.

Comrade deputies! For the first time a USSR Supreme Soviet session is examining a State Budget with a deficit. This could not fail to cause great concern to deputies. On the proposal of the Budget and Planning Commissions this deficit has been reduced somewhat, but nevertheless it remains considerable. This deficit is a concentrated reflection of our general shortcomings in economic work: unprofitability, low efficiency in the use of resources, and unproductive costs and losses. We are all faced with the task of improving the financial situation in the next 2 years—1989 and 1990. For these purposes it is necessary to make more active use of the potential of the new economic mechanism.

The preparation for the switch to the principles of regional self-financing will be of great significance. In view of deputies' suggestions it is expedient to clarify the wording of Article 6 of the Law on the State Plan with a view to making the final paragraph read as follows: "The USSR Council of Ministers and the Councils of Ministers of the corresponding union republics must organize an experiment to test these principles in the Belorussian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian SSR's, the Tatar ASSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and Moscow city," the principles in question being those of regional self-financing. Much preparatory work has now begun in that direction.

During the discussion of the plan suggestions were also submitted on other questions of the country's economic and social development in 1989. Many of them fall within the competence of USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers and must be considered by them.

Deputy Yu.M. Khusainov raised a number of questions on individual indicators of material and technical supply to agriculture. On 20 October this year the USSR Gosplan submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Budget and Planning Commissions some amendments to the draft State Plan for 1989 which had been adopted on the basis of deputies' remarks and suggestions. These amendments also took into account questions raised by Comrade Yu.M. Khusainov. But in view of the fact that uncertainties seem to have arisen I shall give a specific report on these questions.

The first point relates to tractors. The plan envisages supplying an extra 8,400 MTZ and YuMZ tractors to agriculture, thus making the total 84,900, as against 84,300 supplied in 1988.

Second, mineral fertilizers. The supply of phosphate fertilizers to agriculture for crop cultivation is set at 9.43 million tonnes as against 9.31 million tonnes under the 5-year plan, an increase of 120,000 tonnes; and the supply of potassium fertilizers will rise to 7,184,000 tonnes as against 6,781,000 tonnes under the 5-year plan, or an extra 403,000 tonnes. The supply of nitrogen fertilizers is indeed set at approximately 900,000 tonnes or 7.7 percent below the 5-year plan target because of the export of these fertilizers in order to buy raw materials

for the production of phosphate fertilizers and pesticides. In addition, enterprises in the chemical and timber complex have still not reached the control figures for the production of nitrogen fertilizers. Therefore there must be extra work with them on this question.

And, finally, the original version of the plan reallocated around R6 billion of capital investments from production construction in all national economic complexes, including the agro-industrial complex, to the consistent solution of the social problems that have accumulated. Subsequently, at the deputies' suggestion, R1.3 billion of the investments removed were returned to the agro-industrial complex at the expense of other complexes. At the same time the R600 million reduction in the amount of above-normative unfinished construction in the agro-industrial complex was taken into account. At the deputies' suggestion a similar measure is envisaged with regard to all national economic complexes and amounts to R3.3 billion of capital investments in all.

Permit me to report that all the suggestions and remarks made by deputies during the current session will be studied closely and appropriate decisions will be made and reported to deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade deputies! The implementation of the 1989 plan will ensure the further upsurge of the economy and the improvement of the Soviet people's life. Its successful fulfillment will depend entirely on the creative activity and initiative of all the working people of our country.

I thank you for your attention.

Chairman: Comrade deputies! Let us move on to the adoption of decisions on the question of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development. You already have the drafts and resolutions on this question. They contain the amendments resulting from the suggestions of the standing commissions and deputies' speeches at the chambers' session. Furthermore, in accordance with Deputy Kubliyus' remarks and as you have already heard from Comrade Maslyukov's closing address, a new version of part 2 of article 6 of the Law on the State Plan is proposed. Are there any other suggestions or remarks? I see that there are none.

Now for the voting procedure. It is proposed to vote on each of the drafts as a whole. Are there any objections to this procedure? No. Then the Draft Law on the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989 is put to the vote.

I put it to the vote of deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities. I ask those in favor of this law to raise their hands. Please lower them. Those against? None. Abstentions? None. The law is adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities.

I call on deputies from the Soviet of the Union to vote. I ask those in favor of this law to raise their hands. Please lower them. Those against? None. Abstentions? None. The law is adopted by the Soviet of the Union.

Thus the Law on the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1989 has been adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet's draft resolution on progress in the fulfillment of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1988 is put to the vote.

The deputies of both chambers will vote together. I ask those in favor of this resolution to raise their hands. Please lower them. Those against? No one. Abstentions? None.

The resolution has been carried by the Supreme Soviet.

Minister Gostev's Closing Speech

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["Concluding Speech by Deputy B.I. Gostev, USSR Minister of Finance," at 28 October 1988 evening joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities in the Great Kremlin Palace; speech contains interpolations by session Chairman Yu.N. Khristoradnov]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have held an in-depth and comprehensive discussion of the draft USSR State Budget for 1989. It was thoroughly examined in advance by the Budget and Planning Commissions and other standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers. It can be said that an essentially new approach was adopted toward the preparation of the country's basic financial plan and that it has been concretized and enriched as a result of collective work.

Much attention was devoted to the financial aspects of the economy in the commissions' findings on the budget and the speeches by deputies at the session, the main items of revenue and expenditure in next year's budget were analyzed in greater detail than ever before, and its positive and negative aspects were assessed.

The main conclusion which was drawn is that the 19th all-union party conference line of deepening the restructuring of economic and social development and of the country's entire social life is reflected in the plan and budget. Deputies supported the priority given to the channeling of resources to the social sphere, the solution of the food problem, the construction of housing, and the expansion of consumer goods production on the basis of the further development of social production and enhancement of its efficiency.

At the same time, during the discussion deputies spoke with concern about the complex financial situation and the unbalanced budget. An important point is that specific proposals were made at the same time to strengthen finances and money circulation.

Deputies emphasized the need to make fuller use of the advantages of the radical economic reform, to enhance economic management standards everywhere, to obtain additional state revenue, and to implement a stringent policy of thrift in the expenditure of material and financial resources.

The Budget and Planning Commission and the other commissions revealed opportunities to increase budget revenues by R1,425.5 million. It was proposed that R1,303 million of this sum be used to reduce the USSR State Budget deficit and a sum of R122.5 million be channeled into building up the material base of rural schools, settlement of rural soviets, and the development of population centers.

I can report with satisfaction that the USSR Council of Ministers deems it necessary to accept the aforementioned amendments to the revenue and expenditure of the USSR State Budget for 1989.

The coreport by the Soviet of the Union standing commissions contained a proposal to set time limits for the repayment of resources from the statewide loan fund included in the budget, and also to submit for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet any future proposals on the maximum size of the domestic state debt.

It seems that it would be expedient to submit the proposals on the aforementioned questions when submitting next year's State Budget to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Other questions of improving the budgetary process will be examined in the light of the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), whose draft is now being discussed.

Many deputies raised specific financial questions in their speeches. Deputies F.A. Tabeyev, V.P. Fokin, V.A. Dyagel, B.A. Zhuravlev, B.P. Vidyayev, M.Yu. Yusupov, and Ye.F. Bashmakov noted the need to enhance the role of local soviets in solving questions concerning the social and economic development of territories, the strengthening of their financial base, and the expansion of participation by enterprises under union jurisdiction in the shaping of local budgets' revenues.

This work is now under way. Next year local budgets will receive R2.1 billion in deductions from the profits of enterprises under union jurisdiction. A procedure is being introduced whereby 50 percent of payments for labor resources will also be credited to local budgets. This means an additional sum of R1.7 billion.

Deputies were briefed on the work being done to transfer individual republics and local soviets to the principles of territorial self-management, self-financing, and self-sufficiency subject to the essential condition that regional and statewide interests are combined. All proposals made by deputies on these questions will be carefully examined.

Deputy E.A. Paap raised the question of compensation for additional expenditure incurred in stockraising as a result of price increases for mixed feeds. The USSR Ministry of Finance, jointly with other departments, will examine this question and will submit its proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers.

Financial questions were also raised in the speeches by Deputies Z. Mamatov, V.A. Faustov, and A.V. Karpov. The USSR Ministry of Finance will carefully examine these and other questions raised by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies during the budget discussion. Deputies will be informed of the measures taken, and they will also be reported to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade deputies! Today the USSR State Budget for 1989 will become a law binding on ministries, union republics, soviets, enterprises, and organizations. The center of gravity will shift to practical work. The targets it envisages are complex and responsible. They can be attained with purposeful work, socialist enterprise, the maximum utilization of the new methods of economic management, and creative initiative by labor collectives and each and every working person.

Chairman: Comrades, let us move on to approving the USSR State Budget for 1989 and the report on the implementation of the State Budget for 1987. It is proposed to initially approve the total sums of revenue and expenditure in the State Budget, and then to adopt the Law on the State Budget. Are there any other proposals? No.

Allow me to give the floor to Deputy Gostev.

B.I. Gostev: Comrade Deputies! The USSR State Budget for 1989, submitted for your examination by the USSR Council of Ministers, envisaged revenue amounting to R458,388,945,000. The Budget and Planning Commissions and other standing commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities proposed, as already mentioned, that budget revenue be increased by R1,425,500,000. Taking this amendment into account, the USSR State Budget revenue is submitted for approval in the total amount of R459,814,445,000.

Now about expenditure: Expenditure in the State Budget for 1989 is envisaged in the sum of R494,675,045,000. The permanent commissions of the chambers proposed that budget expenditure be increased by R122.5 million, this sum to be channeled into capital repairs to buildings and general education schools in the countryside, the

acquisition of equipment and implements, capital repairs to buildings of settlement and rural soviets, and development of cities, worker settlements, and rural rayon centers.

Thus expenditure in the USSR State Budget for 1989 is submitted for approval in the sum of R494,797,545,000. As you can see, comrades, and as already said during the budget debate at this session, expenditure in 1989 is rising faster than revenue. Initially the government submitted for approval a budget with a deficit of R36,286 million, and taking into account the additional funds sought out by the commissions the deficit will be reduced to R34,983 million.

The USSR Council of Ministers instructed the ministries and departments and the union republic councils of ministers to implement in 1989 measures to seek out additional revenue through increased economic efficiency and to reduce expenditure through a stringent policy of savings and thrift. On the basis of what has been said, we ask that the State Budget be approved incorporating the amendments introduced by the chambers' standing commissions.

Chairman, comrade deputies! Are there any questions or amendments to the total budget revenue? No. I put to the vote the total State Budget revenue, incorporating the proposals by the chambers' standing commissions, in the sum of R459,814,445,000.

Soviet of Nationalities deputies are to vote. Those in favor of approving the proposed sum of State Budget revenue for next year, please raise your hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The total amount of USSR State Budget revenue for 1989 is approved by the Soviet of Nationalities.

Soviet of the Union deputies are to vote. Those in favor of approving the total sum of State Budget revenue for next year, please raise your hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The total amount of budget revenue for 1989 is approved also by the Soviet of the Union.

Thus the USSR Supreme Soviet has approved the total sum of USSR State Budget revenue for 1989.

Let us move on to approving the total sum of expenditure. Are there any remarks on the expenditure side of the USSR State Budget? No. We put to the vote the total State Budget expenditure for 1989, incorporating proposals made by the standing commissions, in the sum of R494,797,545,000.

Soviet of Nationalities deputies are to vote. Those in favor of approving the proposed sum of State Budget expenditure for 1989, please raise your hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The total amount of USSR State Budget expenditure for 1989 is approved by the Soviet of Nationalities.

Soviet of the Union deputies are to vote. Those in favor of approving the total sum of State Budget expenditure for next year, please raise your hands. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The total amount of budget expenditure for 1989 is approved also by the Soviet of the Union.

Thus the USSR Supreme Soviet has approved the total sum of USSR State Budget expenditure for 1989.

Let us move on to adopting the Law on the USSR State Budget for 1989. You have the draft law with the amendments and additions incorporated in the light of the findings of the standing commissions and deputies' speeches. Are there any amendments and additions to the draft law? No. The law on the budget is put to the vote as a whole. Does anyone request a vote article by article? No. Then I put the Draft Law on the USSR State Budget for 1989 to the vote.

Soviet of Nationalities deputies are to vote. Those in favor of adopting the law, please raise your hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The law is adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities.

Soviet of the Union deputies are to vote. Those in favor of adopting the law, please raise your hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No. The law is adopted by the Soviet of the Union.

Thus the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the Law on the USSR State Budget for 1989.

Comrade deputies, you have the draft USSR Supreme Soviet resolution approving the report on the implementation of the State Budget for 1987. Are there any amendments to the proposed draft? No amendments. Then allow me to put it to the vote.

Deputies from both chambers are to vote simultaneously. Those in favor of adopting the resolution on this question, please raise your hands. Please lower them. Anyone against? No. Any abstentions? No.

Thus the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the resolution.

Shevardnadze Addresses Ministry Party Meeting

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2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Communists' Meeting"]

[Text] A report and election conference of the USSR Foreign Ministry party organization took place 31 October-1 November.

Communists listened to the party committee's report and discussed the progress and problems of restructuring within the ministry and its establishments abroad and

the tasks facing the party organization in fulfilling the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and implementing the concept of new thinking in the practice of Soviet foreign policy.

E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, spoke at the conference.

A new USSR Foreign Ministry party committee was elected.

Komsomol Leader Dolgushkin Interviewed

PM0711130588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[TRUD correspondent L. Alimamedova interview with Nikolay Dolgushkin, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee: "Returning A Vote of Confidence"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Alimamedova] Our conversation about the Komsomol and the youth problems facing it would be incomplete if we did not tackle yet another quite "heated" topic—the so-called "informal associations." The wave of glasnost and democracy and the pluralism of opinion have raised an entire stratum of young people who believe that they have something to say and who intend to show their worth. Many of them are attracted to ideas of restructuring; however, everything is far from unambiguous here. Can the Komsomol collaborate with unofficial associations and if so is this then cooperation or confrontation?

[Dolgushkin] Let me say straightaway that we exclude confrontation—we are in favor of cooperation and collaboration. Informal associations are generated by life itself with all its present-day complexities and contradictions. However, it would be incorrect to consider that the word "informal" is a synonym for civic initiative and creative investigation. These associations and groups are as heterogeneous as the environment that has given birth to them. If you mean associations where the most socially active young men and women meet, who have serious civic concerns for the progress of restructuring and the state of affairs in the sphere of ecology, history, education, and leisure, then the Komsomol is their ally. I will cite an example.

A political club that was recently named for Nikolay Bukharin has existed for 5 and ½ years in Naberezhnyye Chelny. In that time more than 1,000 people have been involved in the work of the club. The principles of this youth organization are to take no word on trust, laborious work with primary sources, and complete freedom of thought. Some people saw this club as an alternative to the Komsomol, yet it is a question of cooperation. Incidentally, this club arose as an association of Komsomol activists and was conceived by them themselves. It stood its ground during difficult times, precisely thanks to the Komsomol, which in turn "was none the worse

off"—it gained a great deal thanks to the club and strengthened its own prestige. Judge for yourselves whether this was competition or alliance...

[Alimamedova] That is an impressive example. All the same, doesn't the very fact that youth organizations have grown rapidly away from the auspices of the Komsomol prove that the Komsomol's prestige has fallen in the eyes of young people and isn't this a kind of protest on the part of young people against excessive organization and diktat?

[Dolgushkin] Partly, yes. The low level of independence of Komsomol organizations, long-time arbitrary rule by the apparatus, its belief in the omnipotence of paper, and intolerance of heterodoxy did their work. All manifestations of bureaucratism, stagnation, and formalism must be eradicated from the life of every Komsomol organization in order to restore young people's vote of confidence in the Komsomol.

We are now actively seeking ways to interact with informal associations. Unfortunately, the important question that is the intensification of influence on the ideological and educational content of the work of youth groups, the political aspect, so to speak, is still on the backburner. At the same time we cannot fail to be alarmed by the fact that some informal groups have an antisocial thrust. We are not on the same wavelength as these "informal associations" but we have still not learned to combat them.

[Alimamedova] So what then—more prohibitions?

[Dolgushkin] In no circumstances. You will gain nothing by prohibitions now. I'm talking about something else—we must be able to show young people what is behind some slogans and expose the false idols before their very eyes, but we need to learn to argue in order to do this.

[Alimamedova] However, the Komsomol is still too timid in embarking on contacts with "informal associations" in general and especially with those that you have mentioned. One gets the impression that Komsomol leaders are afraid of joining with the leaders of the "informal associations" in an open debate and are afraid of suffering a defeat, isn't that the case?

[Dolgushkin] We see where we're still the losers. For instance, in many informal associations young people are taking a very active and committed part in political self-education. Many of our Komsomol members are not up to this. We lack skill in debating and we have lost the habit of waging political combat and the term political fighter has even disappeared from Komsomol use. It is not bureaucrats, but political fighters, men of ideological conviction with the ability to convince others, that are needed here. That is why it is so important to revive Komsomol members' taste for political dispute. There is no need to be afraid of making mistakes. For a long time

we believed that we never made mistakes. Yet people learn from their mistakes. But only when you have the courage to acknowledge and learn lessons from them. Without that there's no political struggle. [passage omitted]

OGONEK's Korotich Interviewed in Spain

PM0411151688 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish
26 Oct 88 p 20

[Ignacio Gil report on OGONEK Editor Vitaliy Korotich undated remarks to journalists in Barcelona: " 'No Alternative to Gorbachev in USSR'"]

[Text] Barcelona—Vitaliy Korotich is probably the Soviet journalist most committed to restructuring. He is editor of the weekly OGONEK, the most politically adventurous journal and the one taking the most advantage of glasnost.

Korotich is one of the stars of the symposium that opened in Barcelona yesterday. Having become a public figure, he expressed regret at not having dressed more formally for the photographs.

[Journalist] The Soviet authorities have just lifted the restrictions on paper supplies to the press. Is this another victory for the glasnost process?

[Korotich] Of course it is a victory. Rather, it is a hope of victory: They have told us that we will have paper but we do not yet have it. We have struggled for paper and now we will struggle to write on it.

[Journalist] As the threat of a suspension of supplies loomed, there were reports of an agreement between your magazine and foreign suppliers—something very unorthodox in the USSR.

[Korotich] We did receive a proposal from Germany and another from Denmark but I would like this problem, which is a domestic one, to be resolved at this level. I assume that even here in Catalonia newspapers would rather not have to depend on central government for their paper supplies. [Korotich ends]

Now—at least before the supply problems—OGONEK has a print run of 2 million. Together with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI it is a cornerstone of the glasnost process.

Bombarded with questions by radio reporters, Korotich said that he would like to publish three items about Spain: Concerning the problems of the transition; the way of life in such an ancient city as Barcelona (the symposium is taking place in the old quarter); and how Spain has become European without ceasing to be Spanish.

[Journalist] Gorbachev seems to have established his power at the head of the CPSU, but does he enjoy solid support among the medium cadres and centers of power far from Moscow?

[Korotich] He has shown that there is no alternative to him. Without him the party could not move (toward modernization—DIARIO 16 editor's note). This does not mean that there is no opposition. There is opposition but it can only struggle by means of sabotage. At the latest congress they showed that they have no alternative program, and it is difficult to secure the people's support without an alternative program.

[Journalist] Seen from outside, the conclusions of the latest Central Committee session give the impression of some kind of pact permitting the removal of Yegor Ligachev and Viktor Chebrikov to less sensitive areas of power.

[Korotich] The fact is that people must deal with their own affairs, with what they really understand. For the first time in history the KGB is headed by an expert, an insider. Ligachev spoke much of the time about how he gave people enough to eat in his part of the country (Siberia.) Now he has the chance to give everyone enough to eat.

[Journalist] Despite glasnost, there are undoubtedly still forbidden topics and taboo subjects in the Soviet press. What are they?

[Korotich] The Army and its internal arrangements (balance of forces) are still not talked about. Nor is there any discussion of the CPSU leadership or of relations with the KGB. More and more things are being discussed. These are not taboo subjects but things that have never been discussed.

[Journalist] The magazine that you direct apparently did not publish all the information that it has about Brezhnev's son-in-law, Yuriy Churbanov, implicated in a corruption case. Why not?

[Korotich] It is forbidden until the trial is over. Churbanov's attorney said that an atmosphere of hatred was being created against him.

[Journalist] Is it not because the power structure inherited from the Brezhnev era has not yet been dismantled?

[Korotich] Partly. However, they have to show that the proceedings are legal.

[Journalist] Is corruption just another problem or is it the consequence of a system that remained ossified for years?

[Korotich] It is not so much the corruption. It is a political and economic mafia. The Churbanov case is not only a political problem but a mafia problem.

[Journalist] It has been suggested that your future could lie abroad at UNESCO, as a means of removing you from your present position.

[Korotich] No. My only interests are literature and OGONEK.

[Journalist] You were recently involved in a suspicious road accident....

[Korotich] No, it was not premeditated.

[Journalist] Are you afraid, however?

[Korotich] No. [Korotich ends]

Vitaliy Korotich evaded his colleagues' barrage with the same good humor as he answered the more serious questions. "Afraid? Only of my wife," he said. Then his wife—of course—led him off to the restaurant.

International Ecology Seminar Held in Kiev
LD0511134688 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1230 GMT 5 Nov 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] An international seminar of trade union and public figures devoted to the protection of the environment and work areas and to safety in running atomic electric power stations has taken place. The condition of water, air, trees, plants and everything that is alive all around us and that makes up man's habitat, especially in the era of an intensive development of atomic power engineering—these questions are in the center of attention of the seminar. Representatives of the United States, Britain, Australia, Cuba, Italy, France, Japan and Canada—in all 18 countries—are taking part. In Kiev they familiarized themselves with the ecological situation and showed an interest in the questions of consumer and medical services for the population.

However, the ways and means to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES are, of course, at the center of attention. [passage omitted]

Joint Venture Seminar Ends 3 Nov
LD0411091788 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT
3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—A constructive exchange of views on measures to monitor joint enterprise in the Soviet Union and prospects of its development dominated an international symposium which closed in Moscow today.

The symposium drew more than 500 scientists, representatives of joint ventures and their foreign and Soviet founders, as well as organisations which so far are only planning to organise production cooperation at an international level.

Speakers at the seminar reported that 115 joint ventures had been set up in the Soviet Union already, and that overall foreign investments amount to some half billion roubles. This figure has been predicted to reach 10-12 billion roubles by the end of 1990.

For stepping up this process the Soviet Union is taking measures to control joint enterprise in the USSR. These measures, which sometimes arouse fears on the part of foreign firms, are designed to facilitate the creation and operation of joint ventures.

This year, joint enterprises have been allowed to market their products in the Soviet Union for freely-convertible currency. Lev Vainberg, chairman of the board of the association of Soviet joint ventures, said in his speech that it takes much less to organise a joint venture now than 18 months ago.

The aim of this newly-setup association is to establish new and protect the rights of operating ventures, as well as to render legal assistance, train experts and resolve social and other issues presenting interest to all joint ventures in the Soviet Union. One of such issues is the construction of an office building for these ventures in Moscow and the setting up of a trade union for their staff.

Shishlin Views Goals of Restructuring

LD0611183088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1443 GMT 6 Nov 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Good day, comrades! We are meeting on the eve of the 71st anniversary of Great October; and like every anniversary, the current one is a time for reflection, a time for appraisal, a time to think about our successes and our failures, a time to consider what should be done, and how. The ideas of October, of course, are living in the actions of millions of Soviet people, are living in our country's affairs; and today we are justified in saying that Great October is getting something of a second wind, as a result of the process of revolutionary renewal of our society, as a result of restructuring.

Restructuring, which is a world-wide phenomenon, is being written about everywhere today—both in the socialist countries, in the developing states, and in the West. But diverse things are said and written. And as a rule, two questions are in evidence, two major questions. The first: "Will restructuring yield results?" And the second question: "How stable is it? Has it been possible to make restructuring irreversible? And here, when thinking about the progress of restructuring, we should take account of the fact that restructuring is a process that has both short-term, medium-term, and long-term goals.

With regard to the short-term goals, we can say that in less than 3 years—or more accurately, in slightly more than 3 years—restructuring has already led to a moral and political improvement in the country, to the birth of a wholly new moral and political atmosphere. Over the course of this year, we have observed the following economic picture: labor productivity is growing and output is growing, while the number of employed is being maintained or even reduced. True, the situation in the consumer goods market remains unsatisfactory. But the invigoration of the economy itself, as well as the attraction of foreign credits, including those from the western countries, should, of course, in the not too distant future change the prospects in this market. Speaking of the short-term results of restructuring—too short-term in the sense of achieving them within a short period of time—we should speak about working out strategies that include both radical economic reform and radical political reform.

As for medium-term goals, these involve implementing in practice both political reform and economic reform. A vigorous and strong start has already been made on implementing these reforms, although, as you yourselves understand, the implementation of these reforms requires time.

The long-term goals of restructuring, however, are the complete revival and implementation of the ideals of October, purging socialism of all alien elements and of all those grave deformations by which our history is marked, and alteration and enrichment of the notions of socialism itself. With this aim, I should like to remind you of the marvellous words of the French revolutionary Jean Jaures, who said that maintaining traditions is not keeping the ashes, but staying in the fire. This is what restructuring is—staying in the fire of the Great October Revolution.

'Widening of Democracy' in CPSU Noted

LD2810022888 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT
27 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—Phenomena unusual for the past years were apparent during report and election meetings in primary organisations of the CPSU underway now. A small circulation newspaper of the plant "ROSTSELMASH" in Rostov-on-Don, south of the European Part of the USSR, issued a report of the party committee so that communist and non-party people could discuss it prior to the election conference. Voting for one proposed candidate as secretary of the party organisation of a shop was characteristic of the "Arsenal" plant in Kiev. Now 12 candidates were nominated in one of the shops of the plant, and worker Mikhail Krasheniy earned the biggest number of votes. Such facts are far from rare.

Non-party people participated in every third meeting of party groups and primary party organisations of Moscow. As a rule non-party people could not attend such

meetings earlier. In the Oktyabrskiy District of the capital every third party group organizer and every fourth secretary of a party organization were elected from among two or more candidates. All these are signs of the widening of democracy in the life of the party which promotes also enhancing the exactingness to leaders of primary party organizations were replaced as a result of election campaigns in Moscow in the past. Now this index increased to 37 per cent.

But it is not in all the party organization that the spirit of perestroika is apparent. The mass media also notes cases of formalism is holding report and election meetings, and such cases are not rare. But the main thing is that the striving to conduct the party work in a new way—in the spirit of democratism, glasnost, efficiency—is manifested both by the masses and leaders. The latest directive of the CPSU Central Committee about the election of leading party bodies in keeping with this style. The directive, specifically, envisages the increase of the term of powers of all elective party bodies, starting from regional party committees and bureaus in primary and shop organizations to two or three years. For the first time it will become possible to re-elect the composition of a leading party body ahead of schedule if its activity is voted unsatisfactory. Its partial renewal and by-elections will also be possible.

Glavlit Chief Interviewed on Censorship

PM0711151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p3

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences V.A. Boldyrev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, by own correspondent E. Parkhomovskiy, under the rubric "Frank Discussion With Chief of the USSR Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press": "More Democracy, Fewer Secrets"—date and place unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

What are now the place and role of the Glavlit—the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press—and its local bodies, and how is the transition to be made from the "cult of secrecy" to an information culture? These are the questions with which our IZVESTIYA correspondent began his conversation with Doctor of Economic Sciences Vladimir Alekseyevich Boldyrev, chief of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press.

[Boldyrev] Before we talk about the role of any institution in any social process, we must have a clear idea of its functions and its place in the current system of very diverse relations. In our case this is, unfortunately, particularly necessary, as not only the broad readership but sometimes even people involved in the editorial and publishing process do not always have an accurate—and indeed sometimes even have a false—notion of the work done by the Main Administration for Safeguarding State

Secrets in the Press. The causes of this situation are clear: The unnecessary obscurity surrounding the work of our department for so many years, the perfectly understandable, historically rooted wariness at the mere mention of the word "secret," and, finally, the quite intensive fire we have come under recently, mainly from authors. Our silence in response to criticism is certainly not always a sign of agreement, although it is undoubtedly fair to say that censorship has also been part of the braking mechanism in the bureaucratic-edict system that has taken shape in our society. Censorship has been used quite extensively to create zones that are beyond the reach of criticism (Moscow, the militia, Aeroflot, and so forth) and to protect with prohibitive signs subjects touching on the painful areas of our development.

So, that is the first point I wanted to clarify. The Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press is not the "holder" of restrictions on the press, we do not invent these restrictions, and we have nothing to "hide." We do not reflect the interests of any department; we are press workers, and have common aims with mass media bodies. Any conflict situations that have arisen between us have, as a rule, been the result of restrictions wrongly imposed on the press in the most diverse areas.

[Parkhomovskiy] But do we need any formal restrictions on the press at all in our time?

[Boldyrev] That is just wishful thinking. An unnecessary, harmful "cult of secrecy" does exist but there is also genuine secrecy. In today's world the main sources of intelligence information—political, military, economic, scientific and technical—are open publications, radio, television, reports, lectures, exhibitions, and so forth. In the admission of major foreign intelligence specialists, the press provides between 80 and 90 percent of this kind of information.

This, I hope, answers your question. The role of censorship bodies in the task of accelerating the transition to an information culture consists in further ridding departmental restrictions on the press of everything that has no bearing on genuine secrecy or on giving all Soviet citizens a full opportunity to learn of Soviet and world cultural achievements.

[Parkhomovskiy] Has the list of information whose open publication is prohibited been curtailed recently?

[Boldyrev] Yes, the list has been cut by almost one-third. We are actively casting off everything that could prevent the press—and ultimately the party and the state—from implementing the policy of broadening glasnost. We are purging the list of sectorial and departmental restrictions on material whose publication is not detrimental to our country's defense and economic interests and on material that is easily obtained by foreign intelligence with the aid of highly sophisticated equipment. Not only journalists but also many attentive readers could name dozens

of previously closed subjects and information that are now given extensive coverage in the press. I am thinking of industrial and transport accidents, crime and illness, ecological problems, and so forth.

[Parkhomovskiy] Is this work complete or is it going to continue?

[Boldyrev] Work to cut down the list is still in progress and will continue in the future. We have to overcome the forces of inertia preventing some departments—including ours, it must be confessed—from casting off old approaches and stereotypes.

[Parkhomovskiy] What is the basic principle of the new approach?

[Boldyrev] There is only one basic principle: Information that reveals a state secret or that could be detrimental to our country's interests is forbidden. As far as the rest is concerned, the formula is this: Whatever is not forbidden is allowed.

[Parkhomovskiy] I would like to clarify what exactly is forbidden, apart from what you have already told us.

[Boldyrev] Using the press for the purpose of undermining or eliminating the socialist system established in the Soviet Union, for the propaganda of war, the advocacy of racial or national exclusivity, the advocacy of hatred and violence on national, religious, or other grounds, the intent to do damage to the country's security interests, defense capability, and social system, or for the publication of material not compatible with the requirements of social morality and the protection of public health.

[Parkhomovskiy] How is work to transfer previously banned books from "special storage" to public libraries shaping up now?

[Boldyrev] This work is virtually complete. An interdepartmental commission has examined all books published during the years of Soviet power that have been kept in special collections. More than 7,500 book titles have been returned to general library stocks on instructions from the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press. There are still some 400 left in special collections. These are mainly publications that stir up national discord, and also pornographic literature.

It must be said that the process of implementing our decisions to transfer books from special collections to general stocks is dragging on a little. This is mainly because of libraries' technical difficulties. In addition to this, library heads are concerned that publications of which there is only one copy will quickly deteriorate with use and so they are very unwilling to transfer them to stocks accessible to the general public. We feel it would be a good idea to have a general library catalogue of all publications in general and of special collections, with

appropriate accompanying remarks. This will help the reader to know what literature on whatever subject is available in the library, and to use it when he needs to.

[Parkhomovskiy] Libraries and many establishments have kept foreign literature, access to which has been difficult for most readers. What has changed in this respect?

[Boldyrev] Measures have been taken to ensure that the overwhelming majority of foreign publications previously restricted for general use will be transferred to open library stocks. The motives for keeping foreign publications in special collections are the same as for Soviet publications. I must point out in this respect that the procedure for using any literature in special collections has been simplified, particularly for scientists, members of creative unions, and journalists. It is enough to show the appropriate warrant.

[Parkhomovskiy] And what about foreign literature brought into the country?

[Boldyrev] In a coordinated effort with a number of interested ministries and departments—such as the USSR Foreign Ministry, the Main Administration for State Customs Control, the Council for Religious Affairs, and so forth—measures are being taken to ensure the fuller, more efficient conveyance of foreign publications to organizations and individuals. These measures are quite fundamental and cover three groups of issues: A qualitative change in the approach to the political assessment of material imported from abroad; a significant increase in the number of types of such publications available on the open market or reaching the addressee without impediment; and, finally, a unified approach to the assessment of material on the part of all departments responsible for this.

There is soon to be a significant increase in the free sale of leading periodicals from capitalist countries, not only in Moscow but also in many other cities throughout the country; they will include the American INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, the British newspapers THE GUARDIAN, THE TIMES, and THE FINANCIAL TIMES, the West German SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG and DIE ZEIT, the French LE MONDE, the Italian CORRIERE DELLA SERA and IL MESSAGGERO, the Japanese ASAHI and MAINICHI, and others.

[Parkhomovskiy] Will they be sold in places accessible to the general public?

[Boldyrev] Yes, they will be on sale at city "Soyuzpechat" kiosks. In addition to this, all scientific and technical, artistic, and reference literature, arts publications, and many other types of books and periodicals will reach the addressee without impediment. The procedure for sending religious literature to private addresses has been considerably simplified. So as not to exhaust the

reader's attention with a detailed description of this process, I will point out the following: Before 1985, the restriction of foreign literature, particularly if it was of a political nature, was the usual rule with regard to general use, but now it is a very rare exception.

Returning to the subject of special collections, I would like to emphasize that whereas previously our concern was to prevent Soviet or foreign literature restricted for general use from reaching open library stocks, now we are trying to ensure that decisions to transfer such publications to general stocks are implemented without delay.

[Parkhomovskiy] What do you mean by "ensure," and with regard to whom?

[Boldyrev] First, as I have already said, with regard to the library management and, second, the departments within whose jurisdiction they fall.

[Parkhomovskiy] The authors of a number of recent publications have complained of instances in the past where their works have been censored on ideological grounds rather than with the intent to protect state secrets. What is the situation at present?

[Boldyrev] At the beginning of our conversation I said that, as part of the braking mechanism in the bureaucratic edict system, censorship has been used quite extensively to restrict the publication of works considered undesirable at the time. In the sixties, all responsibility for the ideological and political content of published works rested with the leaders of organs of the press and cultural establishments. However, over time the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press again began to be used in ways for which it was not directly intended. This was not only damaging to art and literature; the situation began to be exploited, shall we say, by rather unscrupulous editors who, for various reasons, often subjective or group-based, refused to publish a work, citing the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, and, as a rule, without any justification for doing so.

I would like to give a special mention to the infamous "shelving system" in the film industry. Reference is made to the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, but it has nothing to do with it. If a movie has been made, the script will have already been passed by the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press. We have never had, nor do we have, anything to do with assessing a movie once it has been made.

I must also draw attention to another point. Many authors, rightly critical of censorship, do not actually mean the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, but rather certain bureaucratic circles in the ministry and department apparatus, or

even in the publishing houses, preventing the publication of a work. Readers will be interested to know, incidentally, that the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press has no control over a very impressive segment of literature.

For example, new editions and translations of works previously published in the USSR, works of foreign literature and their translations into the languages of the Soviet peoples, literature on the philosophical sciences.... The selection of works for publication, their editing, abridgement, and so forth is the responsibility of the mass media and book publishers. They are also responsible for their ideological content and thrust.

[Parkhomovskiy] The first steps in the direction of the mass media giving more detailed coverage of high-level meetings, sessions, and plenums have already been taken. Are more extensive measures possible?

[Boldyrev] If you are interested in my personal opinion, I believe this is perfectly feasible. I hope, however, that you do not think that the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press decides whether a Supreme Soviet session should be relayed or not, for example.

[Parkhomovskiy] Of course not. However, I do feel that your opinion has considerable importance. In this connection I would like to ask you this. Do you not think that the restriction of information in the press on important court cases is not conducive to the development of glasnost?

[Boldyrev] A difficult question. The answer cannot always be straightforward. When covering court trials it has to be borne in mind that a citizen can be found guilty of a crime only by decision of the court, so it would hardly be appropriate to publish material, for example, which anticipates this decision, creates a certain climate of public opinion before the verdict is announced, and thereby puts pressure on the court. The law stipulates closed-court proceedings in cases where they concern a state secret or the intimate life of those involved in the case, or persons under 16 years of age. The court takes a special decision on this. In other cases organs of the press are within their rights to themselves decide the issue of publication. But the chief principle—the presumption of innocence—must be observed. The same applies to information on preliminary investigations, which can only be made public with the permission of the investigator or prosecutor.

In this respect we should not forget cases where investigating organs have authorized the publication of material on cases they are investigating in order to create a certain climate of public opinion and thereby influence the court.

[Parkhomovskiy] The press claims that anti-AIDS propaganda is being held back in our country by sanctimonious morality which does not allow the public discussion of sexual problems and specific methods to protect against AIDS. What is your opinion?

[Boldyrev] There have not been and cannot be instances of preventing such propaganda in the work practices of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press. What is more, material on dozens of branches of medicine—obstetrics, gynecology, dermatovenereology, the study of sexual diseases, and so forth—is completely out of our control.

[Parkhomovskiy] But are there clear criteria that allow members of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press to distinguish pornography from medical propaganda and artistic realism from vulgar eroticism?

[Boldyrev] Yes, I think our workers are capable of distinguishing between an illustrated magazine like the Italian TURBO and a medical aid, or between a love poem by Omar Khayyam and something like "Hotel of Love" [Pansionat Lyubvi] by Khervud [name as published].

[Parkhomovskiy] It is hard for me to grasp these comparisons, as I am not acquainted with these bad examples.

[Boldyrev] That is probably thanks to us. We have managed to protect you.

[Parkhomovskiy] The Main Administration fulfills its responsibility to safeguard secrets in the press by prior control over material intended for publication. Would it not be more expedient to increase the responsibility of "holders of secrets" and organs of the press for safeguarding these secrets, and limit the Main Administration to monitoring the observance of these responsibilities?

[Boldyrev] This is not the first time this issue has been raised. Which is preferable: Prior or subsequent censorship? Prior censorship consists in preventing cases where prohibited information and material appears in publication—preventive measures, if you like. Subsequent censorship is essentially punitive censorship which provides for penalizing the guilty parties (authors or editors) and sometimes confiscating the prepared copy of a publication, destroying it, or making changes to it. As far as the immediate mass media are concerned—newspapers, television, and radio broadcasts—the latter sanctions (confiscation and amendment) are totally inapplicable. On the basis of our own experience, and also that of similar monitoring bodies in other countries, we have drawn a clear conclusion—prior control is a more effective and less "painful" method of safeguarding state secrets in the press.

[Parkhomovskiy] I do appreciate that you could not touch on every aspect of your administration's work in this conversation. What would you like to add in conclusion?

[Boldyrev] We have already discussed the qualitative changes the Main Administration has undergone in a very short space of time. But it seems to me that this does not exhaust the problem of improving the principles and methods of our work to bring it into line with the dynamic development of glasnost. In particular, we feel it would be expedient to reflect the basic tasks of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press in the draft Law on the Press now in preparation. We propose the open publication of the Provision on the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, which we will be drafting on the basis of the Law on the Press. And, finally, we feel it necessary to provide a mechanism that will enable not only state bodies but also the public—primarily the mass media—to monitor the Main Administration's activity. Incidentally, I think this is the first interview given by the head of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press in the entire history of its existence; this must be seen as a step in the direction of such monitoring.

Legal Institute Official on Lawyers Union

LD0411235788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] The All-Union Association of Lawyers will soon appear in our country. An organizing committee has already been formed to hold the constituent conference of this public association. Its chairman, the deputy director of the Moscow Legal Defense Research Institute, Genrikh Pavlovich (Padva), has given an interview to our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [(Padva)] The legal profession is a special organization whose business is defending a person's rights and interests. Therefore the legal profession's role in a state, which we will call law-governed, must undoubtedly grow.

[Correspondent] Genrich Pavlovich, you are saying that the role must grow, so I understand that with this increased role something will improve. Well, and what is bad now in the legal profession's activities?

[(Padva)] In our view what hampers us primarily is a lack of coordination. After all, how is the legal profession built organizationally? What it consists of is local collegiums—oblast collegiums, town collegiums—which are not connected with one another in any way, either organizationally or in any other way. It is very difficult for us to exchange experiences. We find it very difficult to organize joint studies. We have no representation of the legal profession in union bodies. We cannot express a view on any fundamental matter from the point of view of the whole of the Soviet legal profession.

[Correspondent] Well, the Justice Ministry—does it not represent your interests?

[[Padva]] There is the Ministry of Justice—according to the law on the legal profession it must exercise general supervision over the legal profession. However, the ministry is neither theoretically nor practically capable of supervising the legal profession's work properly. First, by virtue of its small number of staff. Second, the leading officials are very often incompetent; locally they are particularly incompetent. Working in the organs of the ministry are former public prosecutors, examining magistrates and militia officials who have nothing to do with the legal profession and who don't know the specific nature of this work. That is why it does not in any way assist the legal profession's work.

[Correspondent] What will we—not the lawyers, but those whose interests you defend—be gaining, if your union is established?

[[Padva]] First, all citizens are interested in the legal profession being strong, independent, unafraid of local influences, unafraid of the public prosecutor or the examining magistrate—in it being qualified and mighty. Well, all this is possible, in our view, only with an all-union organization, a voluntary society, a voluntary union, a voluntary association of the country's lawyers. [end recording]

Solovyev in Discussion on Leningrad Amenities
LD0511235988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 5 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] What is Leningrad to be in the near future? A reportage from our Leningrad correspondents:

[Correspondent] Can you imagine Nevskiy Prospekt without transport, completely pedestrianized, respected comrades? This is just one of many matters concerning the future of the city's central regions, matters which have been widely discussed recently in the press, on radio and on television. What will we leave for future generations? How are we to create the maximum conveniences for the city's inhabitants, and at the same time guarantee to preserve its architectural features? One of the stages in this work has been a discussion held today by leaders of the Leningrad party, local soviet and economic organs, and representatives of scientific establishments, creative unions and the mass media, and of a number of town planning problems.

The conversation at the meeting, in which Comrade Solovyev took part, was business-like and committed. For example, an animated exchange of views was provoked in particular by the question of creating near

Leningrad a major cultural leisure complex, attracting funds from foreign firms. [video shows scenes from the city, Solovyev addressing meeting; video then shows following interview]:

[Begin video recording of M.B. Ignatyev, Dr Technical SCS, identified by screen caption] We have calculated the need to create such a center from system analysis. What is happening at the moment? The old center of the city, Leningrad, and the Hermitage, are being trampled by thousands of tourists, and our protected zones are being trampled—Petrodvorets, Pavlovsk, Pusinkin—and so the idea arose to create, on the north bank of the Gulf of Finland, in the region of (?Morskaya), Gorskaya and Levashevo, a large, new cultural—I stress cultural—tourist and leisure center, where a zoo, a botanical garden, and branches of our many museums are to be sited. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The idea of creating such a center is not supported by everyone at the present time. That's why this issue, just like many others, will be put forward for wide public discussion. What the city is to be in the near future will be decided by the city's people.

Military History Journal Goes on Public Sale
LD0511000488 Moscow in English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Starting with last month the Soviet reading public has been able to buy the MILITARY HISTORY MAGAZINE, published by the Defense Ministry. And here is what our reporter, Sergey (Bogoslovskiy), writes about this:

The very fact that this magazine is now on sale at bookshops and news-stands is yet another instance of the widely acclaimed policy of glasnost, or openness. The number of blank spots in our own history is steadily being reduced. As a result, the nation is rereading its biography anew. Yes, it is unhappy about the tragic mistakes in our past, but a sober analysis of our achievements and misfortunes will help to avoid their recurrence.

The history of the magazine itself is a complex one. It first appeared in August 1939. Then, after a Nazi attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, the publication ceased to exist and was renewed only after the war. The MILITARY HISTORY MAGAZINE was the first to publish memoirs by the famous Soviet marshals Zhukhov, Vasilievskiy, Rokossovskiy, Malinovsky, and others. It published articles on the history of the civil war in Russia, military science, the history of national liberation movements, revolutions and uprisings. But all this was available only to a strictly designated circle of subscribers, mainly the military leadership. The magazine was not sold freely to the general public.

Now the situation has changed radically. And people are looking forward to reading much that is of great interest to them in such regular features of the magazine as: From the Archives of the USSR Defense Ministry; How It Really Was; and From Unpublished Manuscripts.

As for unpublished manuscripts, the magazine has already acquainted readers with what it called unknown pages of Marshal Zhukhov's memoirs. Marshal Georgiy Zhukhov, the world famous Soviet military leader, whose many decorations included the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, wrote a book entitled "Reminiscences and Reflections" which has been published in English too. While writing his memoirs he had prolonged discussions with the editorial staff of the MILITARY HISTORY MAGAZINE. Luckily, these discussions were recorded by the editorial staff and now we have the chance to learn what the marshal would have liked to write but was unable to in the period we in this country call the stagnation period when certain editors preferred to publish not the full truth but half-truths and sometimes sensational legends.

The unknown pages from the memoirs of Marshal Zhukhov—which are to be published and which I have had a chance to look through—do not in any way damage the image of this great man. A man of boldness, strong will, integrity, and great honor. From these unknown pages we shall learn more about the situation on the eve of World War II, Marshal Zhukhov's appraisal of the policies of the governments of Britain, France, and other countries at that time, about Stalin's miscalculations when he had thought Hitler was preparing to invade the British Isles and to reinforce Rommel's Afrika Corps rather than invade the USSR. It is also of interest to read Marshal Zhukhov's descriptions of the personality of Stalin and his role as supreme commander during the defense of Moscow.

So, a lot of fascinating and factual reading is becoming available to the public in this country.

Militia Cracks Down on Holiday Crime

PM0811130788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Taranov report under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "The Militia During the Holiday"]

[Text] A press conference was held 2 November at the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration. Its subject was the Moscow militia's actions in readiness for the November holiday season.

In past years the preference was not to talk of the militia's concerns during the holiday events—it was a strictly "secret" affair, they said. However, Muscovites and guests to the capital were bewildered to see reinforced militia detachments. This year too, from 1

through 10 November, all subdivisions of the internal affairs and protection of public order services have said they will be on a "state of alert."

Unfortunately, the number of crimes in the city is growing in many areas—from fraud and apartment break-ins to burglaries and embezzlement of socialist property. Various forms of group crime and organized crime are a source of particular concern. For example, trips by 15-17-year-olds from Kazan and Naberezhnyye Chelny to Moscow have become a regular event—they often come to commit acts of hooliganism. Only last Thursday, 56 such "guests" of the capital were arrested in Komsomol Square.

On the whole, between 30 and 70 percent of the crimes in Moscow are committed by people from outside the city. Just recently the leadership of the Internal Affairs Main Administration submitted a report to the USSR MVD proposing measures that could restrict access to Moscow for people with dubious intentions.

True, the capital has a considerable number of its "own" transgressors. On 1 November, for example, an attempted massive brawl at Vnukovo Airport had to be quashed. Drivers "working on the side" and a gang of extortioners and racketeers wanted to sort each other out. The brawl was prevented, however.

Another incident occurred on Sunday in Pushkin Square. The "Democratic Union" had again organized an illegal rally. The "Democratic Union" leaders shouted provocative slogans and distributed leaflets.

Obviously, in the days before the holiday more liquor will be sold in Moscow than usual—dry wine, cognac, champagne. More vodka will also be sold.... All this, it was noted at the press conference, makes the situation more difficult. They named specific measures that could help to prevent any incidents.

There will be 25 percent more militiamen on duty in the city streets and squares. Students at militia schools in Moscow will also be used on duty. They will be assisted by 13,500 members of the volunteer people's militia. Leading personnel of subdivisions of the Internal Affairs Main Administration will be on duty around the clock and militiamen will be forbidden to leave the city. Special comprehensive groups, including staffers of various Internal Affairs Main Administration services, are being set up in Moscow's 28 "hottest" spots (such as Komsomol Square, for example).

Individual work with people who have a tendency to break the law is being stepped up. Recently, 3,000 alcoholics have been admitted to therapy and treatment centers and 26,000 sent for treatment. Doctors have helped to verify the state of health of people who are mentally ill and have aggressive tendencies. Sectoral inspectors have talked to more than 8,000 people with previous convictions.

The Internal Affairs Main Administration has checked out 2,400 installations guarded by armed riflemen. Production units which carry the threat of various accidents and incidents have all been investigated. Transport safety issues have been discussed with railroad and metro leaders.... In short, everything necessary is now being done to ensure that the 71st October Revolution anniversary celebrations go smoothly.

Moscow Deputy Backs Street Demonstrations Decree
PM0811132188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

["Abbreviated Account of Speech by Deputy A.S. Sukhanov (Timiryazevskiy Electoral Okrug, Moscow City)," leader of team of tunnelers at the Moscow Subway Construction Administration, at the 28 October 1988 Evening Final Joint Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Great Kremlin Palace, Moscow, carried under the general heading "Debates on the Report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees Submitted for Ratification by the Session"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies, I wish to speak in support of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR."

I, like my work colleagues and indeed many Muscovites, am alarmed that some people should interpret democracy as meaning total licence. Unfortunately, I see that such a stance does sometimes find support. And yet you cannot just close your eyes to the fact that there are people associating themselves with restructuring who really contribute nothing to it except unmitigated pseudorevolutionary language, irresponsible words, and demagoguery in the streets and on the squares of the city.

Can you regard with equanimity the attempts of those who strive to pose as leaders of the people and "captains" ["vozhdi"] of restructuring and virtually present themselves as its main motive force? Can you turn aside or walk past? Can you pretend that nothing is happening? Or leave socially significant things aside and engage in endless wrangling?

I am certain that we working people cannot allow ourselves such a luxury. There is no time for that. Some people, unfortunately, particularly some young people, who are demanding and anxiously awaiting results, regard the "street assembly" as virtually the main outcome and objective of restructuring.

We are in favor of demonstrations, assemblies, rallies, and processions, but those of a creative nature. We are pleased to see the level of people's activity generated by restructuring. But sometimes "soapbox" democracy assumes distorted forms. Occasionally one simply gets uncontrollable mass hysteria arising. Main traffic and pedestrian thoroughfares are blocked and it is a real

disaster for those who live in the neighborhood. All the legitimate attempts by the law enforcement agencies to instill basic order receive a hostile reception from certain groups, and the loud cry goes up "The USSR Constitution gives us the right to do this!"

Indeed the right to demonstrate is guaranteed, and that right should be exercised. But exercised for the purpose of strengthening and developing the socialist system and socialist democracy!

We are restructuring our life so that we can all breathe freely in our society, so that a person's dignity is respected and reliable safeguards for the individual are created. That is why, I think, it is extremely important to have a mechanism for the exercise and protection of Soviet citizens' rights—laws that are flexible, democratic, and capable of effectively exerting influence upon those who disregard them.

In my view, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR" in correct and timely fashion, and I favor its ratification. There are many opinions, often contradictory ones, on this decree. Some advocate more stringent measures, others claim that this constitutes an infringement on individual rights. I at least am surprised at the statements by some hotheads who describe the decree as a "gag" on democracy and a return to the times of arbitrary rule. I cannot concur. I am convinced that it is essential to sensibly regulate the exercise of these political freedoms in the interests of the working people and all our people. That ideal laws do not exist is another matter; laws have to be tested by practice and correctly applied. Soviets have an important role to play here.

In the light of these considerations I move that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR" be ratified. I see this as another step toward the formation of a socialist law-governed state.

Comparison of Gorbachev Speech at Reception

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 8 November 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev's speech at a 7 November reception in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses to mark the Great October Revolution anniversary. The PRAVDA item, carried under the general heading "Ceremonial Reception in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses" and the headline "Speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 7 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 58-59, revealing the following variations:

PRAVDA omits quotation marks throughout

Page 58

Column a

Paragraph one is omitted in PRAVDA

Paragraph three, sole sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the country has risen up and moved forward. It has moved forward toward socialism worthy of... (rewording)

Column b

Paragraph six, sole sentence reads in PRAVDA: ... all health and good spirits which are especially... (subbing "good spirits" for "vigour")

Page 59

Column a

Paragraph one, sole sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...greeting and congratulations.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech was greeted with prolonged applause.

The reception was held in a warm and festive atmosphere.... (adding paragraphs)

Economic

Slyunkov Speaks on Economic Accountability
PM0811103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Party Support for Deepening Economic Accountability. Conference at CPSU Central Committee"—TASS English report on this speech published in the 1 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 77]

[Excerpts] The decisions of the 19th all-union party conference set the task of completing the formation of the new economic mechanism, extending the principles of economic reform to every workplace, sharply stepping up people's interest in very high end results, and overcoming freeloading and leveling.

A conference was held 31 October at the CPSU Central Committee to examine the state of affairs and measures to deepen economic accountability [khozraschet]. Leaders of ministries and departments, senior workers from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, the central committees of union republic communist parties, party kraykoms and obkoms, and enterprises and representatives of labor collectives from various economic sectors took part in it.

Opening the conference, N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the party set a task

of historic importance at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum—that of overcoming negative trends and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

Following this course, the CPSU Central Committee January and July (1987) Plenums and the 19th all-union party conference elaborated a broad program for renewal of all aspects of the life of Soviet society, democratization, reform of the political system, and radical economic reform. These are the main directions of restructuring called upon to ensure the full use of socialism's potential.

A process of improving the health of the economy has been initiated in the country. It has proved possible to make progress in socially reorienting the economy.

In the 1st 9 months of this year the growth rates of national income, the population's real income, and social labor productivity were 4.7, 3.5, and 5.2 percent respectively. There has been a marked improvement in production efficiency. Enterprises acting on the principles of complete economic accountability and self-financing are achieving higher end results than the average for the country.

At the same time analysis shows that the advantages of the new system of economic management are not being exploited in the requisite manner everywhere. It has still not proved possible to eradicate administrative-edict methods of leadership of enterprises' activity. Considerable numbers of enterprises are still unprofitable. There are no marked improvements in resource-saving and in reducing the material-intensiveness of production.

The introduction and deepening of intraproduction economic accountability and the development of progressive forms of labor organization and management, especially the collective and lease contracts, are of exceptional importance for the success of the economic reform.

However, workshops, sectors, and teams are slow in assimilating economic accountability. In this connection the advantages of the socialist system are not being fully implemented, planned leadership is not being combined with the interests of the individual and the collective, nor are powerful incentives for economic and social progress being created on this basis. The task is to really raise every worker to the level of a real master of the state of affairs at his production unit. That is the essence of utilizing the human factor, which is the main factor for boosting the effectiveness of production and accelerating socioeconomic development.

At present less than half the workers in industry are employed in teams that use elements of economic accountability. Only approximately 10 percent of workers employ contract methods.

The labor remuneration of workers, teams, and collectives has not been made dependent on the end results of the work—the finished product, its quality, the material resources expended, and the timely distribution of output to related teams and shops. Economic accountability is needed in teams, sectors, and shops. It economically compels man and the collective to work for a common cause and for a common result. The introduction of intraproduction economic accountability is also needed for the democratization of production relations, for the self-management of enterprise subunit labor collectives, and for transforming the worker into a master of production.

In the long term the development of production is in many respects determined by the equipment employed. The party and the government are taking steps to concentrate efforts on key areas of scientific and technical progress and to effect progressive structural changes in the economy. But workers and engineers use both old and new equipment. If they are not interested in making the most efficient use of this equipment, the production capacities lost using new equipment will be far greater than those lost when using old equipment. That is why the more modern the equipment, the greater the need for intraproduction economic accountability and the greater the effect of using it.

The worker must now be put at the center of the economic transformations. The essence of the task is to restructure production relations within the team, the sector, and the workshop, develop everyone's initiative and enterprise on this basis, boost their responsibility, and receive a greater return. We must ensure that not only ministers and directors, but also all workers feel that the success of restructuring depends on them personally and that their standard of living is in their own hands. Intensive practical work is needed to introduce intraproduction economic accountability.

S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, and I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, delivered reports at the conference. They stressed the need to deepen economically accountable relations within enterprises and to make extensive use of the methods of the collective and lease contracts. A great deal of attention was devoted to problems hampering the deepening of economic accountability. Among them the need to improve planning, accelerate the development of wholesale trade in means of production, reinforce material and financial balance in the economy, and make more extensive use of the second form of enterprises' complete economic accountability was indicated.

The progress of labor collectives' assimilation of economically accountable methods of economic activity, including the collective and lease contracts, was examined in detail. It was noted that within certain ministries, for instance, the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials

Industry, most enterprises are successfully mastering the collective contract. In the next few years labor collectives must transfer completely to economically accountable methods of economic activity and ensure their use in the labor collectives of very workshop, section, and team. [passage omitted]

Summing up the results of the conference, N.N. Slyunkov noted that there had been a useful discussion about deepening economic accountability. The state of affairs in this area by no means accords with present-day requirements. Most working people are not yet involved in economically accountable forms of labor organization and stimulation. Particular alarm is aroused by the state of economic accountability in the enterprises of a number of the most important economic complexes.

Only 3 percent of workers in machine building, for instance, employ contract methods. Less than half of working people are involved in intraproduction economic accountability. Specialists' study of the mechanism of economic accountability at a number of machine-building enterprises has shown that the intraproduction economic accountability used there is in many respects purely formal. Indicators for assessing workshops' activity are not coordinated with the planning system and virtually no use is made of the principles of mutual economic responsibility and of economically accountable complaints from one workshop to another.

There is a similar situation in metallurgical complex sectors and things are also in a bad way in the chemical and timber complex. Only 2 percent of workers in the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers have assimilated contract methods and only 40 percent of workers use economically accountable conditions. Economically accountable relations are also poorly developed at transport and communications enterprises. The USSR Ministry of Railways is particularly backward in this respect.

At the same time there are many enterprises and even whole sectors in the country that are sharply increasing the efficiency of their economic activity after deepening economic accountability and introducing it in workshops, sections, and teams. Labor collectives in USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry enterprises have this year increased labor productivity by 11 percent by using economic accountability, whereby the wages fund is formed on the basis of net output. The prime cost of output began to decrease more rapidly thanks to the saving of material resources.

Deepening economic accountability and the collective contract, 40 USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry enterprises have transferred to the second form of complete economic accountability. Their labor productivity is rising and their costs are falling 1.5-2 times more rapidly than those of other collectives.

We have something to rely on in assimilating economic accountability. There are collectives in every sector that make skillful use of intraproduction economic accountability, really live by the lease, and are thus making great advances in boosting the efficiency of economic activity. It is now up to every collective to introduce effective economic accountability.

The main condition for success is winning over workers and engineering and technical personnel to the new methods of economic accountability. It is necessary to explain and to demonstrate to workers that with the transition to economically accountable methods it is possible to work more enterprisingly and to greater effect and to earn more. Intraproduction economic accountability benefits both the enterprise and the worker.

Enterprise party committees, the administration, and labor collective councils must smash more rapidly one of the brakes impeding the introduction of effective economic accountability—deep-seated freeloading, leveling, and the conviction that the state will provide the wages no matter how the enterprise works.

Of course, socialism is a society of guarantees. But guarantees are given in exchange for definite commitments. The situation must be rectified and payment only made for real results, for work, for quality, and for the quantity of work.

Another task is to furnish all workers with concrete forms of intraproduction economic accountability and provide them with simple and understandable methods of determining results and calculating expenditure. People must clearly see that they will obtain all they have earned.

If workers realize that they will benefit by switching to the contract—a switch that is quite feasible—they will be firmly in favor of the new methods. It is not platform work but painstaking, persistent, and economically competent work with people on the part of party committees that is needed for this.

Work with engineering and technical personnel and economists is exceptionally important under conditions of the introduction of intraproduction economic accountability. The organization and implementation of the contract and the lease necessitate changes in intraplant planning, incentives, and accounting. One encounters among some enterprises' specialists a cautious attitude toward the new methods, lack of interest, and sometimes a refusal to accept these methods and resistance to the introduction of economic accountability.

What can be done to overcome these sentiments? Their labor remuneration must above all be linked with the results of the activity of the contract collectives they serve. In a number of cases it is advisable to incorporate engineers, technicians, and economists in the contract collectives and pay them on the basis of the results of the

collectives' work. The USSR State Committee For Labor and Social Problems must examine the prevailing situation and adopt an appropriate decision on this question.

Improving production organization is of great importance. The introduction of economic accountability and the transition to the contract often necessitate restructuring of this organization. Large comprehensive teams producing end products must be set up, sections merged, and workshops sometimes united, or, on the contrary, broken up into smaller units. A creative approach and decisions based on concrete conditions are important here.

The logic of the development of intraproduction economic accountability leads collectives away from the simpler forms of this toward the collective contract and then to the lease. Experience shows that the greatest effect is achieved not by the local introduction of economic accountability in individual sectors or teams but by involving all enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and workshop subunits in economic accountability.

The question of organizing reliable accounting at enterprises is important. Without this, effective economic accountability cannot be organized. Outmoded methods of accounting present an obstacle. The USSR State Committee for Statistics must accelerate the creation of primary accounting methods and documentation that accord with the demands of effective intraproduction economic accountability.

Accounting is complicated by the shortage of measuring instruments; the attention of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems must be drawn to this.

In their work party organizations must take into account the fact that via economic accountability every worker is directly involved in production management, senses his responsibility for his fare and his involvement in a common cause, and becomes the master of socialist property.

The extensive application of intraproduction economic accountability is in many respects hampered by ministries' insufficient activeness. Instead of giving enterprises concrete assistance, creating conditions for the introduction of economic accountability, and generalizing and disseminating experience, many ministries have a passion for compiling purely formal plans. These only provide for some preparatory work.

Many methodological documents elaborated by sectoral organizations to introduce intraproduction economic accountability are unspecific and offer enterprise workers little help. The ministries' task is to provide all labor collectives in the shortest possible time with the requisite

methodological documents, taking advanced experience into account, and furnish them with recommendations regarding the application of the new forms of economic accountability.

It is important to systematically generalize and analyze the practice of intraproduction economic accountability, and propagandize progressive experience. With this in view ministries must make full use of the potential of their research institutes. People at enterprises expect help from them on a whole range of questions.

Instructing cadres in the new methods of economic activity must be one of ministries' most important tasks in the sphere of introducing intraproduction economic accountability. It is exceptionally important to ensure that this instruction is carried out on the basis of specific familiarization with the progressive experience of the activity of economically accountable teams, sectors, and workshops. The economic illiteracy that prevailed among personnel during the period of stagnation has drastically complicated the assimilation of progressive methods of economic activity. General economic education is still slow in picking up steam and is still not having an effect.

Ministries' new style of work must manifest itself in the dissemination of positive experience and concern for burgeoning new, progressive, and effective developments. Workers in the ministerial apparatus should fully master economic methods of management.

The socioeconomic departments of union republic communist party central committees, kraykoms, and obkoms will have to do a great deal to deepen economic accountability and extend it to every workplace.

The immediate task is to channel party organizations' efforts at enterprises into creating a mood for assimilating progressive forms of economic accountability in collectives. A constant quest for opportunities to use new and more efficient forms of labor organization and incentives must be the norm. Little attention is paid to analyzing and broadly circulating progressive experience. It is necessary to organize exchange of collectives' experience, put it on a firm organizational footing, and make the best experience generally available.

Research institutes and VUZ's in every region of the country must offer great assistance in introducing economic accountability at enterprises. They are called upon to furnish socioeconomic departments and labor collectives with an analysis of the changes taking place and with methods for assimilating the most promising forms of intraproduction economic accountability. This is how, for instance, scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch Economics and Organization of Industrial Production Institute, and teachers at Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute and the Moscow Financial Institute, are acting. All scientific establishments can and must work like that.

The local press is now assuming particular importance in generalizing and circulating advanced experience. However, it is still giving insufficiently full and specific coverage to the actions of progressive collectives, and materials do not always reveal the mechanism that ensures successful use of economically accountable methods. Substantive and in-depth interpretation and demonstration of the experience of progressive collectives are now particularly necessary. This is an important condition for giving propaganda support to the deepening of economic accountability.

We must set ourselves the clear and definite goal of entering the next 5-year plan with a fully developed economic mechanism, all of whose levels operate in a coordinated fashion. That is why economic accountability, primarily the collective and lease contracts, must not only be extended to every workshop, section, and team but also organized in such a way that a worker is personally interested in the labor collective, producing a greater volume of output, enhancing its quality, and manufacturing this output at the least expense. This task was set by the 19th all-union party conference and it is our duty to see that it is fulfilled.

This is not only an economic but also a political task. Its resolution is the most important condition for the success of the entire economic reform and the renewal of socialism. The position of working people in society is changing through economic accountability and their relations to socialist property are being transformed. One of the most important reasons for the failure of previous economic reforms, including the reforms of 1965, was the fact that new economically accountable incentives were not extended to every working person in the enterprise.

Now, through effective intraproduction economic accountability and self-management, we can and must fundamentally change production relations. Economic accountability in the workplace will be the basis for the democratization of social life and for every working person's real participation in the management of production and society. A new political situation will take shape in society on this firm foundation whereby the working person will fulfill the functions of master of production and master of the country.

Scientific

Shuttle System Test Flight in 'Next Few Days' *LD0711142788 Moscow World Service in English* 1200 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that the test flight of the Soviet reusable spaceship Buran will take place in the new few days. It was postponed on 29 October because one of the platforms of the takeoff complex wasn't removed from the rocket at a required distance. The spaceship and the world's most powerful rocket carrier, Energiya, are at the Baykonur Cosmodrome.

Soviet-French Space Expedition Prepares for Launch

Launch Set for 26 Nov

LD0711162988 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that the launching of a Soviet-French space crew is scheduled for 26 November. Head of the cosmonaut training center near Moscow, Vladimir Shatalov, says the main and standby crews of three men each are all in good shape. The mission is expected to last for a month, the longest on record of joint international crews. The extensive research program on board the orbital Mir space station provides for a space walk by the French cosmonaut.

French Crews Complete Training

LD0611212288 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT
6 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 7 (TASS)—France will become the third country whose cosmonaut will make a space walk Lieutenant General Vladimir Shatalov, head of the Yuriy Gagarin Cosmonauts Training Centre, had said in an interview with an IZVESTIA correspondent.

In its Sunday edition the newspaper carried an article about the completion of the training of two Soviet-French space crews.

For about two years, the article says, Jean-Loup Chretien and Michel Tognini have been training for a space flight.

They arrived at the Zvezdny Gorodok (Star City) on November 15, 1986, for training at the 'Space Academy'. Their training is practically drawing to an end now. There still will be training sessions at Baikonur. At the Zvyozdny Gorodok on November 2 and 3, they had dress rehearsals at the 'Soyuz TM' training spaceship where the launch, an orbital flight, and landing are simulated.

Lieutenant General Vladimir Shatalov described the forthcoming space expedition as a complex one.

"This time the program is more extensive than that of the first Soviet-French manned space flight," he said. "It will be for the first time that a French cosmonaut together with a Soviet one will make a space walk. Only representatives of the Soviet Union and United States worked in open space so far".

TASS Reviews Training Program

LD0711220288 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT
7 Nov 88

[Text] Zvezdny, Moscow region, November 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

The preparations for the space flight of the Soviet-French crew have been going on for a year, although the space travellers are no newcomers in aviation. More, one of the contenders for the flight—Jean-Loup Chretien—underwent at one time the entire cycle of space training and worked with Soviet colleagues aboard the orbital station Salyut-7.

But the forthcoming expedition will be a record-setting mission as regards the duration of international space missions. It will last not ten days as, for instance, the Soviet-Afghan flight, but a month. Besides, the expedition programme envisions the French spaceman's space-walking venture. The more extensive programme of scientific research in the second joint flight and additional elements of technical training called for more strenuous exercises.

Sixty-six Soviet cosmonauts had already underwent [as received] training at the Soviet cosmonauts training center named after Yuriy Gagarin. Fourteen foreign spacemen are also "graduates" of the Star City Center. To put it shortly, experience was gained here in training space expeditions both under national programmes and international cooperation projects.

The programme of training the Soviet-French crew has elements which are mandatory for any flight—working on a zero-gravity exercise machine, exercises aboard spaceship and orbital station mock-ups, and a centrifuge used for spinning cosmonauts to help condition them for space flights. It is impossible to model zero-gravity on Earth, therefore two main devices are used at the center, which allow spacemen to experience this state. The first is a special aircraft-laboratory which flies over steep mountains. The second—the swimming pool where cosmonauts work submerged in simulated weightlessness.

Medical monitoring accompanies all of cosmonauts' life. Their state of health is under permanent control and even special experiments are held in the periods of their stay in orbit. Symptomatic in this respect with [as received] be the Soviet-French expedition. Medicine and biology are widely represented here alongside other experiments. In the their first flight Soviet and French specialists conducted several major series of experiments such as ekhnograf, argument, bioblok, and tsitos. All of them will be continued in the second joint flight but at a qualitatively new level.

Jean-Loup Chretien holds that the involvement of a French spaceman in the upcoming long-duration flight aboard Mir orbital station will be of exceptional importance to the programme Hermes. He said the long-duration flights were the most complex and most action-packed space expeditions both from the technical and scientific view points and in all other senses.

Military

Moscow Television Carries GOSR Parade Report

LD0711145688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0645 GMT on 7 November carries a live relay from Moscow's Red Square on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The relay begins with shots of Red Square decked out in red; huge crowds line the square. The History Museum bears a placard stating "October—The Beginning of the Creation of a New World." GUM department store has a large red portrait of Lenin and a placard bearing the slogan "New Political Thinking. Restructuring." Two correspondents among members of the public talk in general about today's festivities, quoting lines of poetry. The camera pans around ranks of servicemen lined up on Red Square.

The video then switches to Kiev, where a correspondent talks about the republic's economic and social successes against a backdrop of street scenes. A similar brief clip follows from Minsk. From Vilnius, there follow street scenes and a summary of today's celebrations there. The announcer says: "The inhabitants of the capital of Lithuania are celebrating October in a new way. Instead of a demonstration, it has been decided to hold a city meeting. The leaders of the republic and leaders of the new public organizations will take part in it, along with everyone else."

Then brief clips from Kishinev, concentrating on new buildings there, and from Riga, where, the correspondent notes, the republic's new coat-of-arms is to be used for the first time, are shown.

Over brief clips of Tallinn, the announcer says: "People are now pouring into the center of the Estonian capital. A big meeting is to be held here, with the participation of representatives of workers' collectives, delegations of the National Green Front, and other movements, with slogans supporting the policy of restructuring."

Back in Red Square, a correspondent says more than 10,000 people have been invited to attend the parade. Gorbachev then mounts the podium above Lenin's Mausoleum, together with Ryzhkov. The other leaders then follow them onto the podium.

As the Kremlin clock chimes 1000 Moscow time, Yazov and General Kochetov, in light green open-top limousines, approach each other in the middle of Red Square. Kochetov reports to Yazov, who is then driven around the square to greet the servicemen lined up there. The announcer describes the servicemen present, saying they include men awarded for service in Afghanistan. Gen Kochetov, the announcer says, is commander of the Moscow Military District.

The two cars then move out of Red Square into the 50th Anniversary October Square, where Frog-7, SA-3, and SA-8B missiles and APCs can be seen. Yazov returns to Red Square. As a military band plays, he climbs the steps of the Mausoleum and begins speaking.

Following Yazov's speech, the national anthem is played and an artillery salute is fired.

The order is then given for the start of the parade. Kochetov in his limousine leads off, followed by drummers, students of Moscow's military musical college. Next comes a delegation from the Frunze Military Academy; behind them, representatives of the Lenin Red Banner Military-Political Academy, Dzerzhinskiy Engineering Academy, Malinovskiy Tank Academy, Kuybyshev Military Engineering Academy, Timoshenko Chemical Defense Academy, Gagarin Air Force Academy, Zhukovskiy Aeronautical Engineering Academy, and Sevastopol Naval Engineering Academy. All except the latter are without firearms; the naval men carry submachine guns. (Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, which also carries a live relay of the Red Square proceedings, notes during the march-past of the students of the Timoshenko Chemical Defense Academy that "The international climate is becoming warmer, and the chemical troops are preparing for a new role—that of becoming specialists in the destruction of chemical weapons.")

A brief shot of the Mausoleum line-up shows Chebrikov, Zaykov, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, and Ligachev standing from screen left to right.

Returning to the parade, airborne troops then march past, followed by border troops, marine infantry, and internal troops, all armed with automatic weapons. The airborne troops and marines are the only units in the parade not wearing greatcoats. These units are followed by cadets of the Suvorov and Nakhimov Cadet Colleges and of the Supreme Soviet Academy, all without firearms. The military parade marches off toward the GUM building. The announcer says the hardware section of the parade is now to begin.

The first unit in this section of the parade is stated to be the Kalinin Guards Taman Motorized Rifle Division. The parade opens with 13 BRDM-2 reconnaissance vehicles, each with five AT-5 antitank missiles, followed by 21 BTR-80 wheeled armored personnel carriers (APCs), then 17 BMP-2 tracked APCs.

The next section shown is the airborne forces, in BMD APCs, nine containing troops in parade uniform, then 13 with troops in combat uniform.

Next comes the Andropov Guards Tank Kantemirov Division, in 25 T-72 tanks. The announcer recalls the combat record of these units in the Second World War.

The announcer then says that artillery, antiaircraft, and missile forces will follow. The artillery section consists, first, of 12 of the small self-propelled guns based on the BMD chassis, then at least 8 M-1974 self-propelled guns, then at least 12 M-1973 self-propelled guns. The announcer says that artillery nowadays consists not only of cannons but also of self-propelled guns, rocket launchers, antitank guns, and mortars, and is aided by sophisticated electronic equipment. At least 12 BM-21 multiple rocket launchers follow, with the announcer tracing their history back to the wartime Katyusha. (Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, during its live relay of the Red Square proceedings, at this point notes that "For the first time in this parade we are not seeing ordinary, nonself-propelled artillery. Of course, it still exists and will serve the servicemen reliably—it's simply that this parade is a little shorter than its predecessors.")

The antiaircraft missile section consists of 12 SA-13 missile-carrying vehicles, then 12 with SA-8B missiles, then 12 with SA-3 missiles. The announcer says they were self-contained, resistant to interference, and designed for various altitudes. (Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, during its live relay of the Red Square proceedings, at this point notes: "The place of the antiaircraft defense troops on the Square is taken by self-propelled vehicles carrying missiles belonging to ground troops used for tactical and operational-tactical purposes. Their more powerful brothers are already being destroyed at special ranges in the USSR and at military bases in the United States, the FRG, and Britain in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate and shorter-range missiles. The next aim of Soviet foreign policy is to secure a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments.")

The military parade ends with battlefield support missiles: six SS-21 vehicles, six Frog-7's and six SS-1's, described as "operational-tactical missiles of the land forces."

The public parade begins with representatives of Moscow in a sea of red flags. In the middle they carry a large portrait of Lenin. Young pioneers mount the mausoleum to hand flowers to the leadership. Gorbachev chats to two little girls.

Columns of marchers representing the working people of Moscow's rayons pass through the square. Meanwhile, the announcer says everyone is working together to restructure life. A huge banner bearing the word "Restructuring" passes by among the marchers. Banners saying "The Revolution Goes On" and "Let Us Reinforce the Powers of the Soviets With the Party's Authority" also crop up among images of Lenin, red flags, balloons, and flowers. Banners declaring "All Power to the Soviets" and "We Are for Democracy" pass by.

A panning shot of leadership at this point reveals the following line-up, screen left to right: Lizichev, Lushev, Kulikov, Akhromeyev, Yazov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy,

Biryukova, Medvedev, Slyunkov, Yakovlev, Chebrikov, Zaykov, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Vorotnikov, Nikonov, Vlasov, Talyzin, Maslyukov, and Baklanov.

A series of correspondents' interviews with various workers and schoolchildren follows. The chairman of an environmental group is asked if things are changing for the better in the area of ecology. He replies: "On this festive square today, I would greatly like to say that the situation is improving, but unfortunately I cannot say this. Our expeditions have shown that ecology and restructuring have the same enemies, namely, inertia in thinking, social inertia, and political cowardice."

Educational workers are greeted by the announcer with a call for ideological conviction, and television and radio workers march past and are exhorted to produce more interesting and effective programs. (Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, during its live relay of the Red Square festivities, at this point introduces a contribution by Political Observer Aleksandr Zholkver, who notes the references to destroyed Soviet and U.S. missiles in the slogans and floats in the parade—an achievement which is the fruit of the new political thinking.)

Correspondent S. Slipchenko on Red Square says that a communications session has been held with the MIR cosmonauts today. A clip from this is shown in which Titov, Manarov, and Polyakov send their greetings and say they share in the festive mood. Slipchenko proceeds to interview cosmonaut Vladimir Dzhanibekov, saying at one point: "Vladimir Aleksandrovich Dzhanibekov was a participant, and one could say pioneer, of the first Soviet-French space expedition when he was commander of the crew which included Jean-Loup Chretien. The third international expedition this year takes place on the 26th; the launch is fixed for that day. But while the first expedition took only several days, this expedition will take some 30 days. It is a very complex expedition, as Jean-Loup Chretien and the Soviet cosmonauts will carry out a space walk."

The relay continues with more interviews conducted on Red Square. Those interviewed include foreign guests, a Tajik poet, and farmers. Over more shots of the parade, the announcer points out that many of today's slogans were current in Lenin's day, too: Bureaucratism must be overcome; power must be given to the soviets.

After an interview with a Komsomol official, there follows a number of short video reports on today's parades in Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Frunze, Ashkabad, and Yerevan. Regarding the last of these, the announcer says: "The festival is being held in a complicated atmosphere in Armenia. Profound concern about the situation that has arisen in the republic, and dissatisfaction at negligence in the economy and the social sphere, have had their effect on the atmosphere in Yerevan today. At the same time, the new leadership of the republic, and the measures that they are actively

taking to improve the moral and psychological climate and to instill order into their management policy, are receiving more and more support.

An Azerbaijani folk saying says: Knowledge passed on returns a hundred fold. This fully applies to the Baku oil workers, whose experience is being put to use in new workings in Siberia, Bashkiriya, and Kazakhstan. The marine fuel extractors are marking the holiday with glorious deeds: They have produced 375,000 tonnes of oil and 220 million cubic meters of gas over the 9-month plan."

Back in Moscow the announcer extols the wholesome influence of the new thinking.

Following more interviews on the square, the parade comes to a halt as various groups perform sporting activities and folk music. After a final, panning shot of the leadership, the parade begins moving again and the live relay comes to an end.

General Yazov Gives Official Holiday Order

PM0711133388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

["USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No 365" dated Moscow, 7 November 1988]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, ensigns and warrant officers, officers, generals, and admirals, veterans of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars and of the USSR Armed Forces!

Today the Soviet people, Army and Navy servicemen, the working people of the fraternal socialist states, and all progressive mankind are festively celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which proclaimed the start of a new era in the life of mankind.

After the historic victory of October a firm foundation for the further development of our society has been laid by the selfless labor of many generations of Soviet people.

The cause of Great October continues in the current revolutionary transformations that are being implemented in the country in accordance with the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In the course of restructuring the moral and political climate in society is improving, and the creative vigor of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia is growing. The process of improving the country's economy has entered the phase of practical implementation of the plans outlined.

The dynamic and persistent implementation of the new approaches elaborated by the party to the resolution of international problems is creating more favorable conditions for slackening tension, broadening comprehensive East-West contacts, curbing the arms race, reducing military expenditure, and settling regional conflicts.

However, despite the fact that it has proved possible in the last few years to avert the threat of war, the danger has not disappeared and guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive processes that have been initiated have not emerged. Under these conditions the Soviet Union is doing everything necessary to guarantee the reliable security of our state and its allies in strict accordance with defensive doctrine.

The USSR Armed Forces in united array with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries are fulfilling their sacred duty to the motherland and reliably protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and the gains of socialism. Within the Soviet Army and Navy, as in our country on the whole, the process of restructuring is deepening, the quality of combat and political training is rising, and steps are being taken to further strengthen discipline, organization, and regulation order.

Comrade servicemen and veterans of the USSR Armed Forces!

I congratulate you on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

I wish the servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces further successes in mastering weapons and combat hardware, boosting the level of combat skill, strengthening troop discipline, and renewing all aspects of troop service and life.

I wish the veterans of the USSR Armed Forces good health and great successes in their activity for the good of the beloved motherland.

To mark the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution I order:

That festive 30-gun artillery salutes be fired today, 7 November 1988, at 2100 local time, in the capital of our motherland—the hero-city of Moscow—and in the union republic capitals, the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, the hero-fortress of Brest, and also in the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Severomorsk.

I express confidence that Army and Navy servicemen, as true sons of the Soviet people, will continue to tirelessly improve combat readiness and combat skill, strengthen discipline and organization, and vigilantly guard the gains of Great October.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

